

# THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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## THE POLITICAL ELEMENT IN THE *HERACLEIDAE* OF EURIPIDES.

### I.

THE political situation in Hellas in the early part of 419 B.C. was extremely promising for the Athenians.

Alcibiades had succeeded in 420 in concluding an alliance with Argos, Mantinea and Elis, and although the Fifty years Truce of Nicias<sup>1</sup> had not yet been formally denounced<sup>2</sup> and the alliance with the Argives and their allies was purely defensive,<sup>3</sup> yet the star of Lacedaemon was to all appearances on the wane. Alcibiades had brought off successfully his first great *coup* and had begun his ascent towards the principal place in the leadership of Athens.<sup>4</sup>

No doubt many of those who had been present in the Senate at the reception of the Lacedaemonian envoys in the early summer of the preceding year were still doubtful as to the wisdom of entering into an alliance which would almost certainly lead to the denouncing of the treaty of Nicias; but there could be no doubt that the immediate effect of the new alliance was to push back the frontiers of the Lacedaemonian confederacy almost to the gates of Sparta itself,<sup>5</sup> and this result could not but be welcome to all patriotic Athenians. The fact, however, that the new alliance, with all the advantages that it brought to the Athenians, would probably mean, sooner or later, and rather sooner than later, the renewal of those hostilities with Lacedaemon which had already lasted for ten years was doubtless sufficient to make many Athenians unfavourably disposed towards it.

During the ten years' war that had preceded the welcome peace of Nicias, Athens had been by no means always successful, and besides promising a renewal of commercial activities the peace treaty seemed likely to put an end for a generation at least to the slaughter that had decimated so many Athenian families. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at if the alliance now entered into by Athens at the instigation of the young and headstrong Alcibiades was widely unpopular. To the supporters of Nicias in the city it was naturally anathema: it was a direct blow aimed at the efficacy of the treaty that represented the most successful political effort of their leader, and should it prove, as it appeared

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. V. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. V. 48.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Alc.*, *ἔργον ἦν τὴν Λακεδαίμονα περιγενέσθαι.*

<sup>4</sup> Thuc. V. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Thuc. V. 45.

might well be the case, a wise measure in the end, would without doubt contribute to their leader's fall.

In fact Athens was not only divided at this time between the partisans of Nicias and Alcibiades as such, but between those who were tired of war and welcomed an opportunity of getting on with their daily business in safety and quiet and those who, notwithstanding the trials of the past ten years, still clung to the ideal of Athenian imperialism and aggrandizement even at the cost of carrying on another war.

At the time we are considering, the latter party had just made a bold bid for power, but it was still 'up to them to make good.'

No doubt many birds of ill omen in Athens, Argos, and elsewhere were at once ready to prophesy the disaster that actually occurred during the summer of 418 at Mantinea; but such murmurings would at once have been attributed by the partisans of Alcibiades to the underhand methods of the agents of Nicias.

The position in Athens was one of expectancy on both sides, the peace faction hoping that the alliance with the Argives would prove a failure and lead to the removal of Alcibiades from the field of practical politics, while the opposing party had high hopes of soon bringing about the utter subjection of Lacedaemon and thus definitely ending the war by the consequent absolute supremacy of Athens over the whole of Hellas.

That the partisans of both sides aired their views pretty freely in the Agora and elsewhere may easily be believed, and arguments of all kinds for and against would be current in the mouth of the man in the street. Any public speech or important lawsuit or religious celebration in which allusion might probably be made to the political situation would be certain of a crowded audience, and if the speaker happened to be a clever and able one his words might give rise to considerable excitement and perhaps have some effect on the current of public opinion.

It is to this period that we shall find reason to assign the performance of the *Heracleidae* of Euripides; a play the apparent inconsistencies of which have been noted and pointed out by successive generations of scholars and have hitherto only been accounted for to a limited extent by the assumption of the presence of two or more large gaps in the text, which are supposed to have been caused in the course of its transmission from the fifth century B.C. to our own times.

It is extremely improbable that those dramatic and literary qualities which have caused the play to be appreciated by students and scholars of the last few centuries should have been the qualities that were most admired in it by the Athenian public on its first appearance on the stage: in fact, in disturbed periods such as times of war and stress literary excellence and dramatic perfection are less apt to touch an audience than references to contemporary events or debated social and religious questions.

Two plays of Euripides, which we have reason to believe were performed before the *Heracleidae*, offer at least one alternative to the usual interpretation;

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<sup>1</sup> See A. V.  
pp. 1-138.



the *Alcestis*<sup>1</sup> and the *Hippolytus*.<sup>2</sup> It appears highly probable that the alternative interpretations of these two plays of Euripides, confirmed as they are by the examination of numerous other works of the same author, may have been those especially appreciated by their original audiences.

In this respect we, having the lessons of the World War at hand, are perhaps more favourably placed than the learned scholars who did not know by experience what influence a long-continued and world-wide state of war could exert upon public feeling and especially upon the critical faculty in regard to literary work.

## II.

Let us now look through the play as we have it and see how far the difficulties that have been met with in its interpretation may be surmounted without having recourse to the drastic methods of textual emendation which were so popular among scholars one or two centuries ago.

The play opens with a scene that must have been more than familiar to the Athenian theatre-goer of that time: suppliants are assembled round an altar in front of a temple, and one of these, a very old man, loses no time in telling us (in the best business-like manner of Euripidean prologues) who he and his youthful fellow-suppliants are, and why they are there. He himself is Iolaus, the children with him are the sons of his old comrade-in-arms, Heracles, whose daughters have taken sanctuary inside the temple with their grandmother, Alcmena. The eldest son, Hyllus, with his elder brothers, is away seeking assistance.

Being condemned to death in Argos by Eurystheus after the death of Heracles, they fled the land, but have hitherto found no peace, continually chivvied by the heralds of the Argive king, who have demanded them at the hands of every successive State to which they fled. So they have come to the Tetrapolis, trusting in the blood relationship of its kings with Heracles, and in their father's past indebtedness to Theseus.

A herald appears and attempts to drag the suppliants from the altar by force. At their cries, some old men of the neighbourhood run to the altar: the herald is persuaded to refer his case to Demophon, king of Attica, who now arrives upon the scene. Demophon refuses to extradite the suppliants, and very nearly comes to blows with the herald, who finally departs with threats of immediate military action on the part of his chief, Eurystheus.

Iolaus thanks Demophon for his generous behaviour in taking upon himself the enmity of Argos on behalf of the suppliant Heracleidae. Demophon's reply is prudent but decided. He will call a council of the citizens, will draw up his army; but first he will send out scouts to reconnoitre the force of the enemy, enquire the omens of the seers, and make sacrifice. He invites Iolaus and the other suppliants to accept his hospitality meanwhile. Iolaus refuses and Demophon departs leaving him at the altar.

<sup>1</sup> See A. W. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, pp. 1-138.

<sup>2</sup> See J.A.S. in *C.R.*, Vol. XXXIII., p. 9.

After a choral ode on the insolence of Eurystheus and his herald, Demophon returns. He looks somewhat anxious. Iolaus questions him and learns that he has himself seen the Argive army and Eurystheus at their head. As far as he, Demophon, was concerned, all was going well—the city was in arms, the sacrifices ready—when, on enquiring of the seers, they all agreed in telling him that a maiden, daughter of a noble father, must be sacrificed. He refuses to sacrifice his own daughter or that of any one of his citizens; the city is in an extremely unsettled state, some being in favour of armed intervention and some against. He asks Iolaus to suggest some way out of the difficulty.

Iolaus bitterly remarks that in that case there is nothing for it but to fall into the hands of his enemies; yet he tries one more scheme: he suggests that Demophon should give *him* up instead of the Heracleidae. This idea Demophon refuses to entertain, as being impracticable, and tells him to think of something else.

At this juncture Macaria comes out of the temple, and on learning the position, offers herself as a willing sacrifice for the safety of her brothers and sisters. Iolaus is loud in her praise; but he asks her to call her sisters and to abide by the lot cast amongst them. Macaria firmly refuses this chance of life and only consents to—nay, insists upon—death of her own free will and choice. She begs Iolaus to accompany her and hold her in his arms when she dies. He says he cannot bear it. She then asks him to beg Demophon to allow her at least to breathe her last in the hands of women and not of men. Demophon here interrupts to assure her that it shall be so, speaks a few brief words of praise, and then tells her to speak her last to the old man and her brethren if she wishes. She bids them good-bye and departs.

Thus far the action of the play is swift and homogeneous. Few tragedies of Euripides, indeed, present such a close sequel of dramatic incident as the lines we have so far examined. What follows is, however, a very different affair.

After the stasimon, enter a servant. He tells us he is a vassal of Hyllus and bearer of good news. Iolaus calls Alcmena out from the temple. She comes, but at first takes the servant for a herald of Eurystheus. Iolaus explains, and she welcomes the servant, who proceeds to recount that Hyllus is at hand with numerous allies, his army drawn up ready for battle against Eurystheus. Iolaus enquires whether the Athenian chieftains know this. The servant assures him that they do, that in fact Hyllus' force is even now forming its left wing.

This intelligence has a wonderful effect on the old man; he insists on going to the battlefield, orders the servant to bring him weapons and to lead him forth. This the servant does, with many misgivings, after trying in vain with Alcmena to dissuade the aged Iolaus, whose limbs scarce bear him, from joining in the fray.

Another stasimon and again a servant enters—this time, some would have it, a servant of Alcmena, and not the man of the previous episodion. He

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says he brings Alcmena good news, for the enemy is defeated. What he actually says is: "We are victorious over the enemy." Alcmena naturally welcomes this news, but asks anxiously:

φόβος γὰρ εἴ μοι ζῶσιν οὗς ἐγὼ θέλω,

to which the man replies:

ζῶσιν· μέγιστον γ' εὐκλεεῖς κατὰ στρατόν,

and proceeds to give an account of the battle; how Hyllus called Eurystheus to single combat, but he would not come; how, then, the seers

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λαιμῶν βροτείων εὐθὺς οὔριον φόνον.

how the king of the Athenians addressed the army as a noble-born leader should—

ὦ ξυμπολῖται, τῇ τε βοσκούσῃ χθονὶ

καὶ τῇ τεκούσῃ, νῦν τιν' ἀρκέσαι χρεών.

and the other called on his troops not to put Argos to shame; how the armies clashed. "At first," says he, "the repeated blows of the Argive spear brake us asunder," but then the tide of battle turned again; how many fell;

ἦν δὲ τοῦ κελεύσματος

ᾧ τὰς Αθήνας, ὃ τὸν Ἀργείων γῆν

σπείροντες, οὐκ ἀρήξετ' αἰσχίνην πόλει;

and, at last, he says: "We put the Argive army to flight." Then Iolaus, seeing Hyllus go by in his chariot, asked to be allowed to mount the car and dashed off in pursuit of Eurystheus.

Now the servant says that up to this point in his narrative he has only related what he himself has seen, but now he is going to speak only from hearsay: a miracle, they say, occurred, for as Iolaus prayed aloud that his youth might be restored to him, if even only for this one day, two bright stars shone out upon the yoke of the chariot, hiding the car in a dark cloud, from which the aged charioteer presently emerged miraculously rejuvenated! He has captured Eurystheus, who is even now in bonds. Verily no man may be called fortunate until his dying day, such be the chances that befall the great!

Alcmena is overjoyed at the news, but asks why Iolaus did not slay his enemy on the spot. The servant tells her it was that she might see him and have him in her power, and in fact, after a choral ode in glorification of the deified Heracles, Eurystheus appears—under guard.

A Messenger, assumed by some to be again a servant of Alcmena on the strength of his opening *δέσποινα*, says he has brought Eurystheus for Alcmena to dispose of. A violent burst of anger from her ends in a threat of immediate death to Eurystheus. But here someone intervenes, saying (l. 961):

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνυστὸν τόνδε σοι κατακτανεῖν.

The MSS. and older edd. attribute this line to the Chorus, later editors to the 'servant.'

The angry reply (l. 962),

ἄλλως ἄρ' αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον εἴλομεν,

is attributed by the MSS. and older edd. to the Messenger, by later editors to Alcmena.

In the ensuing dialogue the speaker of l. 961 insists that Eurystheus, being a prisoner of war, cannot, according to Athenian law, be slain; while the speaker of l. 962 with equal vehemence upholds the opposite opinion. At last Alcmena says she will herself slay him. Eurystheus makes a very frank and manly statement in his own defence, and the Chorus urge Alcmena to let him go. But she meanwhile has thought of a means of freeing Athens from blame in the matter of his death: she will slay him, and then deliver up his body to the Athenians! Eurystheus again speaks, this time to give the Athenians the prophecy that has served to assign a date to the play. Alcmena urges her minions to take him away to the slaughter and then throw his body to the dogs, which they do with the full approval of the Chorus. And the play is at an end.

When we consider the utter absence of any lament for, or even reference to, the presumed fate of Macaria in the latter part of the play, it is hardly to be wondered at that critics have sought an obvious explanation in the possible loss of a large and important part of the play itself, which should originally have contained a recital (by yet another Messenger!) of Macaria's sacrifice.

Before resorting to such a violent remedy, let us see if we may not perhaps find a solution to the problem in the play as it stands.

The passage (ll. 823-842) with the King of Athens' call to arms and the cry of the combatants is well calculated to give a careless reader or hearer the impression that the Athenians in this play, as in the traditional legend, actually join battle with the forces of Eurystheus, but on closer examination it will be seen that such an event is nowhere explicitly stated to have taken place. On the contrary, the distinction is very clearly drawn by the Servant (follower of Hyllus, who speaks ll. 799-866) between 'Us'—i.e. the Heracleid Allies—and 'the King of the Athenians.'

Demophon and Eurystheus have no wish to fight one another (ll. 264-265), and there is no reason inherent in this play why we should assume that Eurystheus actually attacks Demophon's army; and this being the case, we may well believe he would not have felt himself bound to intervene.<sup>1</sup>

Demophon, as soon as he had seen the Argive army, realized that a civil war was probable if he fought, as Copreus had told him;<sup>2</sup> he then 'worked

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 826-827, ἀρκέσαι = defend.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 165 sq. This argument is really a very powerful one: for a king (a tragedy king, always democratic and constitutional as befits a ruler of free Athens) to incur the responsibility of a war on behalf of third parties was a tricky business, unless he had the people's entire consent. Compare Pelasgus' hesitation in Aesch.

*Suppl.*, l. 313 (341). Demophon had been roused to anger by the behaviour of Copreus, and had spoken (and acted) as arrogantly as he; but when he had had time to cool down, and had seen the Argive army face to face, he was much less violent! The analogy of such a situation with that at Athens in the early part of 419 B.C. is fairly evident.

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the oracle' in order to avoid his obligation if possible (ll. 390 sqq.). This scheme failed owing to Macaria's generosity; but, nevertheless, Demophon could not afford the risk. Iolaus realizes this, and is unenthusiastic (ll. 602-603). If he believed those oracles he would feel safe at once, and rejoice accordingly, though sorrowing for Macaria; instead of which he knows Demophon will not fight, but is uncertain what he will do with Macaria! But when Hyllus' servant comes and tells him Hyllus has arrived with many allies, *that* has a very different effect upon him (l. 640 and the excitement of ll. 666 sqq.): he now thinks Demophon may perhaps risk it—and he does, in fact, go so far as to bring out his troops in battle array. Now, at last, Iolaus knows there is going to be fighting: he wants to go there; and go he does.

The messenger who brings in Eurystheus is not an Athenian—he is a Heracleid ally (see l. 962)! The other servant has incidentally already told Alcmena that her loved ones are alive (l. 792), hence we must suppose Macaria to be alive too; nor is there any reason for her to be otherwise if the Athenian forces have not joined in the battle, and her sacrifice was therefore not called for. When the victory has been gained Hyllus and Iolaus raise the trophy (ll. 936-937) without Demophon. Eurystheus expressly states that Athens ἀφῆκε him, 'let him alone,' and for this he is duly grateful (ll. 1026 sq.).

The behaviour of Athens towards Argos in this play thus appears to be just what one would expect in 419 B.C.—by no means hostile, though prepared to ward off attack.

There remains the difficulty of the word *βορτείων* at l. 822.

Taken by itself, the reference appears to be to human sacrifices offered before giving battle,<sup>1</sup> apparently by the Argive army.<sup>2</sup>

Taken in conjunction with the preceding conduct of Macaria, it appears to refer to her sacrifice, and has been interpreted in this sense by many scholars, most of whom, however, have expressed surprise at this very strange and casual form of reference to such an event, and have therefore tried to set matters straight by emendation and conjecture.

Without quoting the numerous scholars that have contributed to the discussion of this question, we may note Dr. Pearson's remark<sup>3</sup> that Macaria cannot be meant, since Demophon had promised that she should breathe her last in the arms of women and not of men. Also, we may remark, the traditional legend made Macaria slay herself, and not be slain by others,<sup>4</sup> though in a Euripidean drama this is not such a serious consideration.

The objection that human sacrifice was practically, if not entirely, unknown in historic Greece is hardly tenable. Plutarch mentions a case that occurred

<sup>1</sup> Brodeau's note *ad loc.* in the Oporinus (Basle) Euripides of 1562, p. 740, reads as follows: 'Nemo id si factum est, miretur, cum nulla olim gens fuerit, quae humana uictima diis sacra non fecerit.'

<sup>2</sup> *Euripides*, ed. Paley, London, 1872, Vol. I.2,

p. 374: 'Besides, the sacrifices meant seem rather to be those of the Argive army . . . mentioned at 673.'

<sup>3</sup> *The Heraclidae*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Schol. *Ar. Eg.* 1151; Paus. I. xxxii. 6 Zenob. *Proem.* II. 61.

as late as his own time;<sup>1</sup> and it is more than probable that in the Persian and Peloponnesian wars such *σφάγια*, if not publicly recognized, were at all events occasionally winked at in view of the magnitude of the issues involved.

It is therefore quite conceivable that the human sacrifices mentioned are in no way to be connected with the offer of Macaria, who may quite well not have been sacrificed at all as far as our play is concerned, but refer to human sacrifices offered before battle to propitiate the gods, and perhaps especially the Argive Hera.<sup>2</sup>

As to the dialogue (ll. 961 sqq.), it may be sufficient for us to note that the speaker of l. 961 is very sure of his Athenian law and usage; while the speaker of l. 962 is most violent in support of the point of view of Hyllus and the Heracleidae. This may permit us to accept the MS. tradition, and attribute l. 961 to the leader of the Chorus of elderly Marathonian (and hence Athenian) subjects, and l. 962 to the Messenger, servant of Alcmena. Alcmena herself thus first enters the dialogue at l. 973 to solve the difficulty of the other two as to how Eurystheus is to meet his just fate.

### III.

The question of the date of the *Heracleidae* has been discussed by practically every scholar who has contributed to our knowledge of the works of Euripides, and until fairly recently each successive research led to a different conclusion. At present, however, it is pretty generally admitted that Wilamowitz is right in assigning to our play a date between 429 and 427 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The reasons that induce this scholar to assign this date to our play are as follows:

1. That 'Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1160 = *Heracleidae* 1006.'
2. That a scholium to *Eq.* 214 states that that verse is a parody of one that occurs in the *Heracleidae*.
3. That metrical reasons lead one to assign to this play a date between 430 and 425, not too distant from that of the *Hippolytus*.
4. That in view of the prophecy of Eurystheus in the concluding scene of the play this could not have been performed after the year 427, in which the Lacedaemonians laid waste the whole of Attica including the Tetrapolis, which they had spared in their invasion of the summer of 430.

Now, as a matter of fact, the verse quoted from the *Wasps*, though undoubtedly similar to line 1006 of the *Heracleidae*, is not by any means identical. The line of our play quoted here runs—

ἐχθροῦ λέοντος δυσμενῇ βλαστήματα

while the line of Aristophanes runs—

ἐχθρῶν παρ' ἀνδρῶν δυσμενῇ καττίματα.

<sup>1</sup> *Quaest. Graec.* 38.

<sup>2</sup> Compare J. L. Myres in *J.H.S.* XXXVII. 197: Attic tragedy is to be referred to 'an age in which, as the tragedians and their audience

believed, human sacrifices and substituted victims were not regarded as anything out of the common.'

<sup>3</sup> *Anal. Eur.*, p. 152.

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<sup>2</sup> Klotz  
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<sup>5</sup> C.R.  
<sup>6</sup> Thuc  
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The Scholiast does not mention this as a case of parody, nor does there appear to be sufficient reason for assuming it to be so.

A somewhat similar case occurs at l. 523 of the *Medea*,

ἀλλ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸν οἰακοστρόφον,

which is almost identical with Aesch. *Sept.* 62:

σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος.

Here, also, the scholiast does not draw attention to the similarity, and while some commentators consider that there is a definite connection<sup>1</sup> between the two passages, others are satisfied with saying that the coincidence may be due to accident.<sup>2</sup>

The scholium on *Eq.* 214, to which reference is made, is absent in the *Codex Ravennas*. The verse to which it refers does not in the least degree resemble any line in the *Heracleidae* as the play now stands, and Dindorf gives it as his opinion that the scholiast was mistaken in naming this play.<sup>3</sup> The fact that the missing line may be attributed to one of the two generally recognized lacunae in the text is certainly a gallant attempt to vindicate the accuracy of our scholiast in a case where appearances are distinctly against him; we may note, however, that he<sup>4</sup> is apparently guilty of less easily defensible chronological errors at ll. 237 and 791 (see Palmer's notes in Dindorf's edition).

As to the metrical question the researches of Alfred Church<sup>5</sup> lead him to conclude that the figures give a certain support to Müller's suggestion of the date 421 for our play.

As to the invasions of Attica which occurred prior to the peace of Nicias, it is a notable fact that during this first period of the war the Argives were neutral,<sup>6</sup> and therefore did not take part in the actions against Athens. It is also worth noticing that the battle that takes place in the drama between the allies of Hyllus and the Argives is not a battle between Athens and the Argos of 419 B.C., since the Argives of the latter year were descended, not from Eurystheus,<sup>7</sup> but from Hyllus.<sup>8</sup> Entirely apart from the fact that, as we have seen in a preceding paragraph, there is no definite evidence in our play to the

<sup>1</sup> A. W. Verrall, note *ad loc.* in his edition of the *Septem*; and Valckenaer, note to his *Hippolytus*, l. 1226.

<sup>2</sup> Klotz, note *ad loc.* in his edition of the *Medea*; Paley, ditto.

<sup>3</sup> Scholia in *Arist.*, Vol. II., p. 191 (Oxford, 1835).

<sup>4</sup> 'The body of notes to each several play . . . declares itself a separate entity.' W. G. Rutherford, *A Chapter in the History of Annotation*, pp. 23-25.

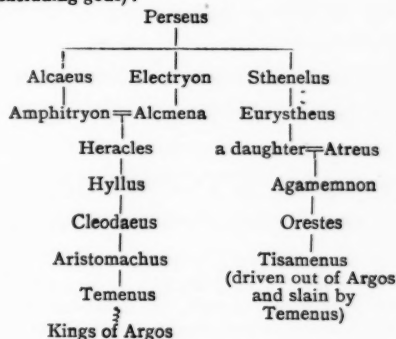
<sup>5</sup> C.R. XIV., p. 438.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc. V. 28.

<sup>7</sup> As Decharme suggests, *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre*, p. 198.

<sup>8</sup> The traditional genealogy was as follows

(excluding gods):



effect that the Athenian army does really come into action, there is no reason for seeking for the date of this play, as Boeckh does,<sup>1</sup> in a period when Athens and Argos were at war;<sup>2</sup> in fact, the case appears to be rather the other way, since the ancestors of the 'present-day' Argives, the Heracleidae, receive in the play that bears their name the moral if not material support of Athens, and actually come to their heritage of the kingdom of Argos by their victory over Eurystheus in the battle which is fought on Attic soil. The many complimentary references to Argos in the course of the play,<sup>3</sup> as well as the slighting reference to Sparta,<sup>4</sup> also rather tend to indicate for the date of our play a period when Athens and Argos were either actually allied or about to enter into alliance with each other.<sup>5</sup>

The prophecy of Eurystheus in the concluding scene<sup>6</sup> requires careful consideration.

If it is to be interpreted as we have reason to think, it may yet be found to give the key to the whole play in a manner very different from what has hitherto been considered to be the case.

We cannot imagine Euripides animated by any greater respect for oracles than was Thucydides;<sup>7</sup> on the other hand his reverence for the orthodox deities of Olympus was notoriously conspicuous by its absence.<sup>8</sup>

Wilamowitz remarks that true prophecies are invariably produced after the event to which they refer,<sup>9</sup> and no one will question that this is certainly the usual order in which such things take place; the fact of that ancient oracle of Loxias being quoted in the *Heracleidae* may therefore be taken as sufficient evidence that the play was performed after the Lacedaemonian invasion of 430, but (and this is an important point to note) it is not evidence that the play was performed before the invasion of 427, unless it was the intention of the author to credit the oracle with being a true one. Euripides is not in the habit of giving such credit to oracles, and his attitude is *a priori* far more likely to have been one of ironical scepticism. Is there evidence in favour of his actually having adopted this attitude on the present occasion? We venture to think there is.

Apart from a remark made by the Dioscuri in the *Electra* (l. 1347), where they say that they are going to save those that are in danger on the Sicilian sea (which is presumably a reference to the expedition of Nicias against Syracuse), I know of no oracle in the plays of Euripides which refers as plainly as that of Eurystheus to actual contemporary historical events. It is therefore interesting to examine this passage of the *Electra* to see whether per-

<sup>1</sup> *De trag. Gr.*, p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Such a period would begin after the battle of Mantinea (summer of 418), and last until the building of the long walls of Argos was begun in the next year.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 340, 364, etc.

<sup>4</sup> L. 741.

<sup>5</sup> Because of this distinction between the tyrant Eurystheus and the rightful heirs of Argos and Mycenae (the *Heracleidae*), I cannot

agree with Decharme (*op. cit.*) that 'Argos n'était pas l'alliée d'Athènes,' though concurring that 'le choix d'un pareil sujet ne prouve point nécessairement que les deux cités fussent ennemies.'

<sup>6</sup> Ll. 1026 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Il. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Compare A. W. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, passim, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 152.



chance the way in which it is treated may throw some light on the oracle of our play.

It is the occurrence of this remark of the Dioscuri that has induced editors to fix upon the year 413 as the date of the *Electra*, since if the remark had been absent there is small doubt that, notwithstanding certain other slighter discrepancies, the date of that play would have been held to coincide with that of the *Helen*. The reason for such coincidence would have been found in the speech of Castor in the *Electra* (ll. 1280 sqq.), which obviously prepares the audience for the fantastic tale of Helen. In fact, had it not been for the reference to Sicily in the last few lines of the play, it would certainly have been remarked that there would not be much point in thus 'preparing the audience' for a play that was to be performed only next year!

In the *Helen* the Twin Brethren make another observation—it also is in the epilogue<sup>1</sup>—and make use of the same word 'save,' but this time to say that they would have saved if they could; but they couldn't! This remark, if taken in conjunction with the promise to save in the *Electra*, is eminently applicable to the year 412; but the application would hardly be so obvious if the *Electra* had been performed a year previously.

We may then be permitted to make the not wholly unreasonable supposition that the *Electra* was actually performed in 412 B.C., the first of the trilogy, of which the other two were the *Helen* and the *Andromeda*.<sup>2</sup> Anyhow, the prophecy of the Dioscuri is belied by the subsequent events: the Sicilian disaster did actually occur, and the Dioscuri in the *Helen* recognize that they, gods though they be, can do nothing against Fate or the joint will of the other gods.

Wilamowitz,<sup>3</sup> relying on a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, conjectures that the *Heracleidae* was the first play of a trilogy, of which the other two were the *Cresphontes* and the *Temenus*.

The only extant fragment of any length that survives of the *Cresphontes* is the beautiful invocation to Peace,<sup>4</sup> in which the poet prays that she may come to his city: an invocation peculiarly appropriate to the year 419, when, as we have seen, both parties in Athens had high hopes of soon attaining to such a condition.

Moreover, the poet says in this choral fragment,

δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνους  
ὑπερβᾶν με γῆρας,<sup>5</sup>

and Euripides in 419 was about sixty-two; the approach of old age would be just beginning to make itself felt.

Another and briefer fragment of the same play may, however, have a much more direct bearing on the date in the light of what we have seen to occur in the *Electra* and the *Helen*. I refer to Fr. 454 (Nauck), which runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> L. 1658.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. *Ar. Thesm.*, l. 1012.

<sup>3</sup> *Hermes* XI, 302.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. 462 (Nauck).

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 4-5.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονὸς  
ἐν τοῖσιν οὐκέτ' οὔσιν, οὐδὲν ἂν σθένος.

This fragment is quoted by Plutarch as being applied in the drama of *Cresphontes* to Heracles; but if the play immediately preceding it had happened to be marked by a prophecy like that of Eurystheus in the *Heracleidae*, in which Eurystheus promises to be the saviour of the land from the tomb in which he will be laid, and if that prophecy had been already belied before the play was performed, these verses would obviously present a striking analogy with the lines in the *Helen*, in which the Dioscuri confess their impotence to save. Both the remark of the Dioscuri about Sicily in the *Electra* and the prophecy of Eurystheus in the *Heracleidae* are by no means necessary to the action of the play—in fact, both might be termed dramatically irrelevant; they neither of them have any but the very slenderest connexion with the subject in hand.

Are we then to admit that they were introduced by Euripides with the express object of publishing his own conviction of the power of the gods to save and of the accuracy and truth of prophecy? In view of numerous recent studies on Euripides' point of view,<sup>1</sup> this theory would hardly appear to be tenable, whereas the exactly opposite one—namely, that Euripides introduced these remarks with the intention of letting his audience see that they were false—appears not improbable. Moreover, it is surely somewhat peculiar that two such prominent extant cases of reference to the future in the plays of Euripides—references with a contemporary historical application—should both have been belied by the actual course of events!

Another point that leads us to incline towards 419 as the date of the performance of the *Heracleidae* is the contemptuous reference to Trachis at l. 193.

Now, while it is an integral part of the legend that the sons of Heracles, in their search for safety, visited the place where their great father died, and where centuries later a city named after him was built, it is curious that exactly in the winter 420/419 this same city of Heraclea was attacked and reduced to a very low condition by the allies of Athens, and only saved later on from capture on the part of the Athenians by the timely intervention of the Boeotians.<sup>2</sup> The affair of Heraclea was complicated by internal local dissensions, the exact bearing of which it is far from easy to appreciate to-day; but we may take it that the circumstances would have been favourable for the capture of the city by the Athenians had they taken advantage of the opportunity, but probably Heraclea had been reduced to such a miserable condition that the Athenians did not think it worth while to do so. At any rate, mention of Trachis in a play performed in 419 would pleasantly remind Athenian hearers of a very recent victory of their allies.

J. A. SPRANGER.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Verrall's essays; Norwood's *Riddle of the Bacchae*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. V. 51.

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## SOME NOTES ON THE HERODAS PAPYRUS.

IN these days no edition of a classic, least of all of a 'new' classic, can claim to be final; and since the able editor of the Cambridge *Herodas* has found reason to reconsider some of his readings,<sup>1</sup> there is clearly room for an independent examination of the text. This paper embodies the result of several weeks' close study of the papyrus<sup>2</sup> in 1923 and 1924. To save space I have begun a note with a new line only where it is of more than usual interest. By the use of a letter of thicker type<sup>3</sup> I mean that there are traces consistent with that letter, but not necessarily with that alone—which seems to me the only way by which Herodas can be saved from the restorer who regards doubtful letter-traces as equivalent to a gap.<sup>4</sup> I begin with three passages which seem to me to stand in a class apart.

In the margin of col. 5, opposite l. 74 of Mime I., I found a tiny loose piece of papyrus containing parts of the letters AT. This, though lodged on its side, most of the scholars who had dealt with the text had taken to be *in situ* and right way up, a scholion on l. 74, some making it an abbreviation of *πόρνας*, another more chastely reading it as *ῥ*, but doubting 'whether it is not a mere discoloration of the papyrus'; Crusius alone suspected that it belonged elsewhere. It is now restored to its place as part of *κατάπλωσιν* in l. 68.

Numbered 3 in Glass 8, I found a fragment containing ].EN[. This, which is 56 in Crusius and 26 in Headlam-Knox, and stands last in Nairn's pl. iii., had been mounted upside down, and read as ION or NON, but fits exactly where it has now been replaced, one or two letters' space before *λῶστον* in VIII. 39.

The final O of *κατέζω[στ]ο* in VIII. 30 is extant on the left of the next column.<sup>5</sup>

The remaining notes I give in their proper order:

I. 2 τ[*is* τῶν] is too long, though τ[ would be just possible; Blass's μῆ τ[*is*] fits well, and I see part of H, viz. part of the top-half of the left down-stroke with a small piece of the cross-stroke; the preceding traces suit a M like that of *μεθ'* in V. 30; after H the traces suit T 3 τ*is* τη[*v*] 9 θεος π[*a*]ρ' (corr. to *προς*); P is certain 10 [μῆνε]s 17 Headlam-Knox are too generous

<sup>1</sup> *The First Greek Anthologist, with Notes on Some Choliambic Fragments*, by A. D. Knox, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 26 sqq.; and *C.R.*, 1925, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Brit. Mus. Pap.* 135.

<sup>3</sup> The use of this thick type instead of the usual subscript dots is due to the exigencies of printing. It has been extended to the conjectural lettering enclosed within brackets. E and Ω

stand for Θ and ω of the papyrus.—EDD. C.Q.

<sup>4</sup> Those who have worked at doubtful letters in papyri will realize how much the personal equation comes in. If my opinions on such points appear sometimes to be expressed too dogmatically, it is merely for the sake of brevity.

<sup>5</sup> These and some other points of this paper were communicated to Mr. Knox in 1924.

with alternatives;  $\epsilon\pi\sigma\chi\epsilon$  and  $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\iota\ \tau\epsilon$  I find both too long; before  $\epsilon$  I see traces of  $\tau$ ; Bücheler's  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\eta\ \tau\epsilon$  would seem to be right (Crusius' note is misleading; a low T is possible, especially after H) 18  $\epsilon\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho$  19  $\sigma\iota\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\epsilon$  23  $\beta\alpha\nu\alpha\text{-}g\text{-}r\text{-}a\text{-}p\text{-}h\text{-}i\text{-}u\text{-}s$  above  $\epsilon\acute{\xi}$  31  $\chi\rho\eta\zeta\eta\iota\varsigma$  32  $\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\omega$  35  $\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota\ \kappa\rho\iota\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$ ; the first A fairly clear, the other thick letters doubtful 36  $\gamma\rho\upsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\sigma\alpha$  (Headl.) fits;  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\sigma\alpha$  too short,  $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  not used by H. 37 possible traces of  $\epsilon\chi\text{[}\sigma\text{]}a$  39 Büch.'s  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\iota\text{[}\nu\text{]}\nu\omicron\nu$  does not fit, and there are possible traces of the  $\alpha\pi$  of Weil's  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\eta\nu\omicron\nu$  40  $\tau\omicron\text{[}\nu$  41 Crusius'  $\iota\lambda\alpha\rho\omicron\nu$ ] fits; Blass's  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\omicron\rho\eta$  might fit as  $\kappa\omega\rho\eta$  or  $\chi\omega\rho\eta$

42 sqq.  $\alpha\sigma\text{[}\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma\ | \ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \nu\epsilon\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\ \gamma'$  are too short, and so is  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\lambda\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omega\nu$ ;  $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\text{[}\eta\acute{\xi}\omicron\text{[}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{[}\nu\omicron\upsilon$  is possible (for OT cf. I. 58, 72), though the traces are doubtful; Crusius' reading of l. 44 does not suit the traces; in l. 45 Headlam's  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\gamma\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon$  seems too short, and so does  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\ \epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\eta}\xi\epsilon$ ; I suggest:

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\grave{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta$   
 $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\text{[}\eta\acute{\xi}\omicron\text{[}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{[}\nu\ \kappa\acute{o}\upsilon\ \mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\varsigma$   
 $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma,$

comparing for this OY I. 58 and 78; then in ll. 44-6, though I do not feel quite certain of CY in l. 44 or K in l. 45, I should follow Milne and Knox (C.R.) and continue ll. 46-7 thus:

$\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\text{[}\pi\text{[}\alpha\text{[}\sigma\iota\nu\text{]}\ \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\varsigma.$

In both these passages the supplements fit and the traces suit, but the latter are very doubtful; in l. 45 instead of  $\kappa\text{[}$  we might read  $\text{[}\sigma\text{[}$  47  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ , hardly  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  56  $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{o}\delta\omega\iota$  59  $\delta\omega\mu\alpha\ \tau\text{[}\acute{\epsilon}\text{[}\kappa\nu\omicron\nu$

64 I seem to see  $\eta\delta\epsilon\omega\text{[}\nu$   $\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\xi}\eta\ \kappa\text{[}\alpha\text{[}\sigma\text{[}\iota$  (so Hdl.).

74 ONΔΕ is equally possible with OCME (for the N of ON cf. col. 15, l. 2) 79  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\epsilon\text{[}\psi\omicron\nu$  | Scholion probably  $\kappa\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega\nu$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$   $\epsilon\upsilon\text{[}\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  81  $\pi\iota\epsilon\iota\text{[}\nu$   $\alpha\delta\rho\omega$

82 In the latter part of this passage my reading of the traces, which, however, are very doubtful, supports Crusius; in the earlier part, where they are clearer, my conclusions partly support Blass ( $\pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\alpha\nu$ ):

Γ.  $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\nu\cdot\ \omicron\upsilon\ \tau\text{[}\iota\text{]}^1\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\alpha\nu\ | \ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\ \sigma'\ \eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu,$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\iota}\rho\omega\nu.$

Μ.  $\acute{\omega}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\omicron\iota,$   $\Gamma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota},$   $\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\text{[}\omicron\ \eta\text{[}\delta\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omicron\nu.$

Γ.  $\delta\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon$  (sic: read  $\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$ ?)  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\tau\omicron,$   $\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\omicron\nu,$   $\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$  (Π is clear)  $\text{[}\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{[}\nu\text{[}\varphi.^2$

Gyllis, having failed in her attempt to win Metriche's favours for Gryllus, pretends that this was not why she came. 'Give me,' she says, 'the cup [of friendship]; for I didn't come by any means to persuade you, but simply'—what should we say?—'out of friendship, [because I thought you'd like to know of Gryllus' love]';  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  are the oaths or bonds of sworn friendship, cf. the proverb  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ , Sch. Plat. *Theag.* 122b,  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota$

<sup>1</sup> The cross-stroke of T is prolonged through the iota, but the first down-stroke visible is that of the Γ, cf. 7. 38 n. below.

<sup>2</sup> Knox's reading (C.R.) does not seem to me to account so well for the traces.

$\acute{\alpha}\delta\acute{o}\lambda\omega\varsigma$   
 $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\nu$   
 $\acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon$   
 $\sigma\upsilon\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda$   
 $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\ \delta\epsilon$   
 $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\ \kappa\alpha$   
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ἀδόλως συμβουλευόντων. δεῖ γὰρ τὸν συμβουλευόντα μὴ τὸ ἴδιον σκοπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν οὐδενὸς ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ τῶν χρωμένων ἐστὶ κοινόν· ἐπειδὴ καταφεύγουσιν ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ θέλοντες συμβουλευέσθαι οἱ ἄνθρωποι. προσήκει οὖν τοῖς συμβουλευούσιν ἀψευδεῖν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην συμβουλεύειν. ἄλλοι δὲ φασιν ἔπαινον φέρειν τῆς συμβούλης τὴν παροιμίαν· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν θείαν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον. μέμνηται δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ἀμφιάρῳ. For the cup of friendship cf. L. and S. s.v. φιλοτήσιος. To this Metriche rejoins, 'Well, if that was your reason for coming, your trouble is well repaid,' lit. 'you have benefited of the sweetest at my hands'; and Gyllis, not to be outdone in politeness, cries—taking the neuter ἡδίστου as masculine, and referring ostensibly to the wine, but really to the friendship of which it is for the moment the symbol—'I only hope you may have plenty of such in *your* wine-vat, my child,' i.e. 'may find as good friends in others as I do in you.' She then continues of the wine, 'Good stuff this, by Demeter; Gyllis has never drunk such good wine as Metriche's.' 86 Μητρ[ρ]ι[χ]η[s] ο[ι]ν[ου] 87 owing to mismounting, Knox has apparently read the right-hand parts of K as E and missed the second Ω: I see πε[π]ωκεν κω 88 ασ[φα]λιζου δ[ε]; part of Δ is visible on the under-surface of the papyrus.

II. 1 sqq. In l. 5 the letter before περ was certainly T; in l. 6 the letters ωλυκον are certain; before them space favours T rather than Θ; after γάρ, ἄν is a little short, but possible;<sup>1</sup> in l. 8 Mr. Milne feels quite certain that we must read with Crusius οὐτ[ο]ς μέτοικος, and agrees that we may revive Blass's τῆς λ]ηΐης above it;<sup>2</sup> in l. 6, after Θαλῆς μέν . . . ἐγὼ δέ, we must have the subject of the verb expressed; this gives us:

ἀλλ' <ε>ι ο] ὁ παρέξει Βάτταρόν [γ' ὁ π]ημήνας  
 ὅση]ν γε καὶ δ<ε>ι· τὼλυκὸν γὰρ [ἄν] κλαύσαι  
 τῆς λ]ηΐης ὁ μ<η> ἀστὸς ἢ ἄσ[τυ κ]αὶ χώρα,

'but whether' [dependent on κριταί ἐστε] 'the man who has wronged Battaros shall not pay the penalty he deserves';—here we must supply δίκην (or read ὅση]ν, but δίκην seems to be necessary to the phrase, cf. Hdl.-Knox, pp. 71 fin.)—'for one that lives an alien in a properly constituted state shall bitterly rue his act of brigandage' (cf. l. 24); then with asyndeton, as in the Orators, begins the *narratio*; for ἄστυ καὶ χώρα, where καὶ must have been written small and close as in l. 6 and elsewhere, cf. Hdl.-Knox, pp. 72 fin.; this involves correcting περ to παρ, but the unfamiliarity of εἰ οὐ, though regular in an indirect question, might produce the corruption οὐπερ ἔξει; ἀλλ' εἰ would not be long enough nor account so well for the traces. For ll. 5-6 I have also thought of ἀλλ' εἰ ὑπερέξει Βάτταρόν [γ' ὁ π]ημήνας· | ὁ γ' ο]ὑδέκῃ δ<ε>ι, 'but whether the man who has wronged Battaros shall prevail' (cf. Knox,

<sup>1</sup> The mounting here is still inaccurate, and has perhaps misled Mr. Knox (C.R.), whose supplements are rather too short—e.g. there would be room for his ἀστέων.

<sup>2</sup> For the form of the first H cf. III. 30; Mr.

Knox's (C.R.) μετ' ἄξις will hardly do; α is just possible, but not αε; for this genitive with similar words cf. Kühn.-Bl. II. 1. 388a; ὁμαστος = ὁμοπολίτης is very unlikely as early as H.; ὁμαστός would not come in here.

C.R.)—‘a thing by no means right,’ or δ μ]ηδέκη δ<ε>ι ‘in a way such as was by no means right’; but Mr. Milne does not agree that these are possible readings of the traces; I cannot find room for Mr. Knox’s (C.R.) παντός 10 [νε]μ 11 τ corr. to δ or *vice versa*

13 sqq. As Mr. Knox now sees (C.R.) the space is too wide for ὦ[μ]ων in l. 14, and the letter before the first Ω is T not Π; the letter before Θ might be H, less likely A, K, Λ, M, X, hardly C or E; I favour H because I seem to see the corner between the cross-stroke and the right down-stroke; the word before χλαῖναν is εχί not ιχε; partly following the Cambridge edition, I think we must read:

κ<ε>ι μ]ή ἐστ’ ἀλ[η]θέα ταῦτα, το[ῦ ἡ]λίου δύντος  
λελ]ηθέτω [σπ]ῶν,<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρες, ἡ[ν] ἔχ<ε>ι χλαῖναν,

15 κεῖ] γνώσεθ’ οἷφ’ προστάτ[η τ]εθωρήγμαι.

‘(His champion is Mennes, and mine Aristophon; Mennes has won as a boxer, and Aristophon can still hug [i.e. in wrestling, cf. Poll. s.v. πάλη]; and if he [Thales] does not believe it, let him snatch his [Aristophon’s] cloak from his shoulders some evening on the sly, and I warrant he’ll find out what a fine breastplate my champion is to me.’ The χλαῖνα here is not necessarily that of l. 21; the perfect imperative active (besides ἵστω) is quoted in this person from Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Archimedes, and in the second person occurs rarely in poetry, cf. Kühner-Blass I. 2. 99; for the elision of γνῶσεται cf. 4. 50; for cloak-snatching at night cf. e.g. Ar. *Eccl.* 668, *Plut.* 930 16 ἐρεῖ] ταχὺ μιν | ἐληλουθα 36 the ψ of ὑφῆψεν is clear 37 βιηι 52 αλλην 55 οικι has something illegible above it 56 ουδε with δ corrected to τ 57 οικις 59 ναυλον 60 εγω 67 τουτους 73 Φιλι[π]πος has CT over the second Π

78 I see λεο[ν]τ α[.]οιμ αν with λ[εον]θ over ο[ν]τ;<sup>2</sup> if we keep εἴη this will be, ‘As for valour, I would cheerfully . . . a lion if he were Thales’; what was the letter before οιμ? λέοντ’ ἀγχοιμ’ ἄν cannot have stood in the papyrus; there is not room for more than one letter before O, and that must have been a thin one; and the overwritten λ[εον]θ, where the Θ is clear, points to an interpretation or correction involving an initial aspirate below it; we must, I think, read ἀλοῖμ’ ἄν from ἀλέω ‘to grind,’ used metaphorically ‘to drub,’ like ἀλοιάω in ll. 34 and 51, and suppose the corrector to have wanted to read ἔλοιμ’ ἄν<sup>3</sup> and his overwritten E to have been lost in the gap; we must surely not change εἴη to εἶην 79 something is written over ΔΕΝ, perhaps ΔΑΝ or ’ΑΝ, i.e. ‘read οὐδ’ ἄν’;<sup>4</sup> 95 what Knox sees as N over Ψ is, I think, part of that letter; the down-stroke of his N is not ink

III. 18 ουδεῖν (*sic*) 33 ιθι with H over the first iota, which is struck out 71 προσ struck out, not προ | over the Π of (the second) προς an apparent

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Knox’s latest suggestion (C.R.) ἐλελ]θέτω ἐ[χ]ων is, I think, open to these objections: I see no trace of E[χ], and the traces before ΩΝ suit Π rather than X, whose top right corner I should expect to see.

<sup>2</sup> O[φ] not Ω[φ].

<sup>3</sup> Reading his archetype ἀλοιμ’ for ἀλοῖμ’ from ἀλίσκομαι?

<sup>4</sup> Was there an old alternative οὐ δῆ? ἄν and δῆ are often confused.

iota 7  
written

IV

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O corre

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over M,

V.

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71

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3. 93 the

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written

VI.

of ὑλακτ

is ηδικη

with C o

90

Θαμνην,

is N (co

προκυκλ

not ω[μ]

read ἴσθ

101 πορ

VII.

8-25

large frag

<sup>1</sup> The sla  
makes the

iota 74 ΩTE with T struck out, but CT not overwritten 84 εσχῆκε was first written, not εσχῆκεν

IV. 21 τον corr. to την 30 τογ in Knox's apparatus is a misprint 37 τις αυτην 38 over the second iota of εικονισμα I see ει, not ε 44 καρκινου 46 σε 50 εσσετ.η (sic) 52 I see καρδιηβαλλει with a dot over the second Λ, and over the E an O perhaps followed by traces of T or the like; another O correcting βαλ to βολ would be no longer visible 62 πύραστον with P over TO; the letter before T is C rather than Γ (so Knox) 67 ανασιμος with ΛΛ over M, which the scribe began as Λ

V. 30 For the first O of ποδόψηστρον cf. the second O in l. 93; what comes after ἐμέ? I see και εμε κρη, or κιη with the iota struck out (I cannot see Φ or Ψ here, and I feel sure that my κ is not χ, cf. the first κ in l. 42), and there are possible traces of ink (N ?) above the PH or IH; read

καὶ ἐμὲ κνή ποδόψηστρον

'and you rub yourself on me as if I were a footwiper' 36 'the mark above the (second) E' of ψευδεα is H 49 ακηκουκάς (sic)

71 over the second A of ἀγκάλαις, if it is ink, which is doubtful (see similar marks in l. 70 above), I seem to see Λ rather than the apostrophe which Knox takes as a sign to distinguish ΑΛ or ΛΑ or ΛΛ from Μ; but of his parallels some, I think, if not all, disappear on close acquaintance; in λάθοις 3. 93 the 'apostrophe' is merely a mark in the texture; in κλαῦσαι 2. 6 it is a loose piece of papyrus; in Κύδιλλα 4. 48 the mark is doubtful; in 4. 41 we have to suppose ΛΛ' written by mistake for Λ'Λ; in 3. 62 the mark above the overwritten Λ is a dot marking erasure; 4. 63 does not help us; and in I. 28 the first A of παλαιστρη has two marks over it, the iota one, and TP one, all probably the traces of a correction 75 τον 80 the IN of εστιν was first written ΑΛ

VI. tit. φιλιαζουσαι 2 ανασταθεισα 10 χρ[ι]η 14 the mark over the T of ὑλακτέω is probably not ink 17 λισσομα[ι]σ[ε] 20 ειχεν 34 overwritten is ηδικηγρυξαι 65 εργοι εστ εργα (O and I are fairly clear) 73 ανευρη[ις] with C over H, i.e. 'correct εὔρης to εὐρήσ<ε>ις'

90 The last word can hardly be read as Θαλλον; it is apparently Θαμνην, and the gloss which stood over it and over part of the preceding word is N (correcting προκυκλιν to προκυκλιν) followed by θαμναιην,<sup>1</sup> i.e. τὴν προκυκλίν Θάμνην corr. to τὴν προκυκλιν Θαμναίην, cf. I. tit. 93 ω[μ]ννεν, not ω[μ]νυσεν 94 Kenyon's reading is clear; the word after γάρ cannot be read ἴσθι (Büch.) 99 ν[εο]σσο rather than ν[εο]ττο 100 αλεκτο[ρ]ιδες 101 πορθευ[σ]ι

VII. 1 The letter after τας is Γ or N, not K 2 διξαι

8-25 This passage needs particularly careful reconstruction. Besides the large fragment containing the ends of ll. 8-25, there are two small pieces with

<sup>1</sup> The slanting stroke from right to left, which probably not ink, makes the letter under E look like K or H, is

parts of ll. 8-10 and 22-25; these three fragments are all separated from one another and from the main papyrus by gaps of various widths, but can be placed partly by completing the M of μέζον in l. 10, by supplying the iota of ὕμιν in l. 25, and by completing καλῶς in l. 23, partly by the measurement of recurring wormholes.<sup>1</sup> The largest of the three fragments is exactly 5 mm. too far to the left in the facsimile: 8 εχ[ι α]νκαλημ or εχ[ει ε]ν καλημ I should correct to ἔχει ἐν κάλῳ, cf. Hesych. κάλιον· τὸ ξύλον ᾧ ἐδέοντο (the explanation has been transposed to the next gloss καλιός, cf. Herwerd. *Lex. Suppl.* s. *kālon*); *kālon* in this sense seems to be a purely Doric form, and so might resist dialect-change as did *kālōpous* 'a shoemaker's last' in Attic; ἀγκάλη 'by the arm' is ungrammatical, and rightly rejected by Knox (now) 9 Κέρκωψ fits, κόλλωψ is too short 13 τήν[ 14 ἐξεσ[θ]ε Μητροι 15 πυργίδα | ωδε [τὴν δ' ἄνω κινή]ν or [τὴν ἄνω κείνη]ν 17 ανωθ[εν 19 οίγ[ε (Blass), not οισ[ε (Hdl.) 22 χ[ώτ]ι σ]φήνι[σκ]οις (Kenyon) is rather long, but possible; there is just room for Knox's reading 23 κο[ύ τ]α 24 χ[ε[ίρ]εs

25 sqq. There is room, I think, for Πα[λλάs] written closely, as these letters often are, cf. e.g. VI. 100; for its suitability see Headlam's note: the fragment containing the initial letters of most of ll. 24-34 has now been rightly placed by Knox as regards the large fragment containing the ends of col. 35, but as he does not give the exact position of the latter, it may not be superfluous for me to note that my measurements make its position in the facsimile 14 mm. too low and 20 mm. too far to the right;<sup>2</sup> the following suggestions, which of course owe something to previous work, fit the gaps:

- 25 τὸ χρώμα δ', οὕτως ὕμιν ἢ Πα[λλάs] δοίη  
 π[άντων ὅσων] περ ἱχανᾶσθ' ἐπαυρέσθαι,  
 γ[υναῖκες, οὐδὲν ἄλ]λο τῷδ' ἴσον χρώμα  
 κ[νάψεν κνάφος π]ω κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει·  
 χ[θὲς οὖν στατήρα]ς τρεῖς ἔδωκε Κανδάδι  
 30 Κ[έρδων ἐφ' ἐν τε] τοῦτο κῆτερον χρώμα·  
 β[άζων δ' ἔγωγ' ὅμνυ]μι πάνθ' ὅσ' ἔστ' ἱρὰ  
 κῶ[σια πρὸς ὑμέας] τὴν ἀλη[θε]ί[η]ν βάζειν·  
 [ἐμῆς γὰρ ἐλκύσει] οὐδ' ὅσον ῥοπήν ψευδὸς  
 [πλήστιγγος, ἦ] Κέρδωνι μὴ βίου ὄνησις  
 35 Μ[υσῶν πλέ]ων γίνοιτο· καὶ χάριν πρὸς με  
 [ἔχετέ τιν' ; οὐ γ]ὰρ ἀλλὰ μεζόνων ἦδη

<sup>1</sup> In placing any recurrent hole we must remember that this roll gets *thicker* with every revolution (the last man who read it before the worms got into it failed to roll it back again); the average addition to be made between cols. 15 and 31 works out at 2 mm., but of course the amount to be added itself gradually increases, and between cols. 28 and 31 it is more like 2½ mm.; so that at cols. 35-36 we should allow

2½ mm. or slightly over.

<sup>2</sup> This gives a rather wider gap than is required by Mr. Knox's latest suggestions; I think he cannot have allowed for the gradual increase of the distance between recurrent wormholes (*see above*); it should be noted that at l. 31 he is obliged to presume accidental omission in one of his alternatives, neither of which, to my mind, is satisfactory.

'And a  
 teazle  
 make so  
 for this  
 and pro  
 balance  
 do you  
 go rais  
 pockets,  
 with col  
 before e  
 more th  
 rather th  
 elsewhe  
 τόκον  
 42 τόσσ  
 the posi  
 44 s  
 gap and  
 not 'bec  
 τρειςκαί  
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which, m  
 ἀψόφος  
 (sugg. H  
 width | f  
 49 T  
 justificati  
 greedy sl  
 wanted is  
 but to t

<sup>1</sup> The cro  
 the iota, w  
 above.



- [οἱ βυρσοδέψαι] κερδέων ὀριγνῶνται  
 [καὶ γλισχρότη] τι<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἔργα τῆς τέχνης ἡμέων  
 [μειοῦσι· πι] συγγος δὲ δειλαίην οἰζὺν  
 40 [ἡθμοῖς] ἰν ἂν [τλ]έων νύκτα κῆμέρην θάλλπω·  
 [τίς ἔσθ' ὃ]ς ἡμέων ἄχρι<ς> ἑσπέρης κάπτει  
 [τὰ σῖτα; κ]αὶ πρὸ [ς] ὄρθρον οὐ δοκέω τόσσον  
 τὰ Μικίωνος θηρί' εὐπ[ορεῖν ὕπνου.

'And as for the colour—as I pray Pallas grant you all your desires, ladies—teazle never dressed a cloth to match it, nor even will painter's wax<sup>2</sup> ever make so fine a shade. Now only yesterday Kerdon gave Kandas three staters for this piece and one other—and what I say I swear to you by all that's sacred and profane is true, for not the smallest possible lie shall weigh down *my* balance, else may Kerdon's pleasure in life grow as small as the Mysians'—and do you thank me for it? Not you, and simply because the traders must needs go raising their prices and cheapening the work of our craft to fill their pockets, while a poor shoemaker like me warms his wretchedness by bailing with colanders day in day out. Why, there's not one of us gets a bite of food before evening; and as for sleep of a morning, Micion's cocks, I'm sure, get more than we.' In l. 28 for omission of augment cf. VIII. 73 | I write πω rather than κω to avoid the succession of κ's; P has κακ ποῖον II. 28, though elsewhere κοί- 29 οὖν is resumptive 30 for ἐπί 'to get' cf. δανείζεσθαι ἐπὶ τόκον 35 P presumably had πλείων | ref. to such sayings as Μυσῶν λεία 42 τόσσον in this context 'so little' | τίς ἔσθ' ὃς ἡμέων = οὐδεὶς ἡμέων, hence the position of the genitive | H. uses the word ἡθέω 'to strain' III. 33

44 sqq. The accepted reading οἰκέτας β]όσκω is a little too long for the gap and involves a clumsy connexion; for ὀτεύνεκα must be taken as 'that,' not 'because,' and as connecting Hdl.'s ἀργ[ίη πάντε]ς with λέγω, which leaves τρεῖσκαῖδε' οἰκέτας βόσκω in the air; moreover H. does not use οἰκέτης elsewhere, though he uses δούλος or δούλη ten times; read

κοῦπω λέγω τρεῖσκαῖδε' [οὗς ἐγὼ β]όσκω  
 ὀτεύνεκ' ὦ γυναῖκες, ἀργ[ίη πάντε]ς,

which, moreover, suits ll. 49 sqq. (see below)<sup>3</sup> 47 the objection to Headlam's ἀφ' ὧς is that the tail of the Φ would be visible and isn't; either ἀσφαλῶς (sugg. Hdl.) or ἀφραδ<ε>ῖς (Crusius) would do; Φ varies considerably in width | for κοῦπω λέγω cf. οὐκ εἰρηκά πω Ar. Ran. 558

49 The subject of φασίν is general, and the sentence ends the long justification of his high prices; the drift is 'I might speak of my idle and greedy slaves (ll. 44 sqq.), but words, as the saying is, are at a discount; what's wanted is pence,' referring not only to the cost of keeping up his establishment, but to the rapacity of the tanners and his expenses generally 53 μοι

<sup>1</sup> The cross-stroke of T is prolonged through the iota, which is invisible; cf. note on I. 82 above.

<sup>2</sup> Encaustic, see Hdl.

<sup>3</sup> For the 'trouble and expense' of keeping slaves cf. Plat. Rep. 465c.

σα[μβα]λουχιδας 54 Crusius' νοῦν is very unlikely; before the (second) N stands N or AI, and even if it were T there is hardly room before it for NO; the letter before AAIC could not be T, nor, *pace* Knox, M; Mr. Milne suggests that the C is a careless Γ, and would read *πάλιγ γεννηθείσας* 'a new woman!' or perhaps a corruption of *πάλιν γεμισθείσας*; I prefer

δ<ε>ἰ κάλ' <ε>ἰς γέ[[ν]]νηθείσας (sc. τοὺς πόδας),

i.e. 'you really can't go home without trying on some pretty kinds' (cf. the next line); the traces seem to me to suit a slanting K (so Blass) even better than Π; this use of *τίθημι* would be natural in a shoemaker; *γένη θείσας* was corrupted to *γεννηθείσας*: for -νη cf. *τείχη* IV. 7, and *ψευδεα* corrected to *ψευδη* V. 36 58 *βαυκιδε[s]* 73 *εργα[λ]εια* 84 *δαψιλεων* 85 *κα[στ]as*; no traces, I think, before AC, nor, probably, after KA 87 *της Αρτακηνης* 88 *αξουσι* 89 *πα—ντως* (sic) 93 *Κερδων* 95 *λιολεσσεω* 99 *φοιται* 101 *εχθ[α]ιρω* 102 *see next note*

104 sqq. *εἰ δ[έ] σοί γ' ἐστὶ χρεῖη* | Knox's placing of ON is excellent, but his *εὐλαβοῦ* <δὲ> τῶν τριῶν ὄν[αρ] δοῦναι is open to these objections: *ὄναρ* is very difficult for *μηδ' ὄναρ*, it is not a satisfactory solution which makes Kerdon give *baubons* for nothing (cf. VI. 92, where one is a customer's 'order') and give three to one woman (or two women), and one feels the absence of a secondary object to *δοῦναι*; in l. 106 the papyrus has *καίτανταυτακαίταντηνμυνηπαταδαρικων*; I suggest:

*εἰ δέ σοί γ' ἐστὶ χρεῖη,*  
*φέρ' · εὐλαβοῦ<μαι> τῶν τριῶν ὄν[ω] δοῦναι,*  
*καὶ ταῦτα ταύτῃ · τῇ, ὅμιν ἐπτά δαρείκων ·*  
*ἔκῃτι Μητροῦς τῆσδε μηδὲν ἀντεῖπον.*

That is, '(Eueteris offers five staters, but even if she offers four darics [s.v. *l.*, see below], I won't let her have them, because she slanders my wife.) But if you want them, you may have them—I know better than to give one of the Three' [of Stesichorus] 'to a donkey' [i.e. let Eueteris have what she cannot appreciate, cast pearls before swine]—'There! they're yours for seven darics. I swear it's for Metro's sake I've let you have your wish.' For *τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου*, which were interpreted as strophe, antistrophe, and epode, cf. Suid. s.v., who adds 'when the ancients wanted to abuse an uncultivated man (*ἄμουσόν τε καὶ ἀπαίδευτον*) they said that he didn't know even the three of Stesichorus'; and for the donkey in a similar connexion cf. the proverb *ὄνος λύρας* and Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 25 *ὦν μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα τῶν μαθημάτων ἐπιθυμῆν φήσας παρείληφέ σε* (the patron his tame philosopher), *ὀλίγον αὐτῷ μέλει. τί γὰρ κοινόν, φασί, λύρα καὶ ὄνψ*; For *καί* joining a simile to its application, *καὶ ταῦτα ταύτῃ*, lit. 'and [I know better than] to give these to her,' cf. Theocr. II. 33 *τὸ δ' Ἄρτεμι καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀἰδα | κινήσεις ἀδάμαντα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἀσφαλὲς ἄλλο*, i.e. the speaker's hard-hearted lover. There is another instance in a scholion, Bergk, *Poet. Lyr.* III. 650. 24. At first sight it seems a little strange to speak of giving one (or some) of the Three (strophe, antistrophe,

and ep  
assignin  
'Accor  
the first  
was lice  
*ἰμάτιον*  
*ἐκ* here  
applicat  
7 darics  
5 staters  
4 darics  
contains  
with H  
seem to  
us. Wh  
a name,  
*δαρικούς*  
£8 16s.)  
we can  
E. shall  
offers an  
Metro's

III  
as HA;  
with the  
practical  
*ἀπόκιστο*  
traces;  
are perha  
rather th

113  
traces ra  
going bef  
cf. Kühn.

128  
time,' as  
*βαίτην* F  
*ἀνευ δεῖ*  
*δεῖ ῥάπτει*

<sup>1</sup> I take th  
they are of c  
of comparis  
power.

<sup>2</sup> If, as is

and epode) to anybody, but ἐκδοῦναι seems to have been used of a poet assigning his work to the performers, cf. Archytas ap. Ath. XIII. 600 sq. 'According to Chamaeleon, the originator of love-songs was Alcman, who was the first to give out to the [song-]schools (ἐκδοῦναι εἰς τὰς διατριβάς) song that was licentious in matters concerning women,' etc.; cf. Theophr. *Char.* XXX. 18 ἱμάτιον ἐκδοῦναι πλῦναι 'send his cloak to be cleaned.' The dropping of the ἐκ here may be reasonably ascribed to the necessities of the proverb's application | We have still to consider an important point. The price of 7 darics (= £7 14s.<sup>1</sup>) is so much in excess not only of what Eueteris offers, 5 staters (= £4 4s. 8½d.), but of what K. says she shall not have the shoes for, 4 darics (= £4 8s. s.v. l.<sup>2</sup>), that it has been supposed that the corrupt line, 106, contains an offer of *two* pairs. A better solution would be, I think, to suppose with Headlam that the δαρικούς of l. 102 is corrupt, as the quantity would seem to indicate; Hdl.'s substitution of χρυσέους, however, will not help us. What the double-daric was called we do not know, but it must have had a name, and I suggest that we should not merely understand with some editors δαρικούς to mean double-darics, but for δαρικούς read διπλόους (sc. δαρεικούς = £8 16s.), and suppose the explanation to have ousted the correct reading. If we can do this, all will be clear. The context requires that what K. says that E. shall not have the shoes for should be (1) *greatly* in excess of what she offers and (2) *rather more* than the price which he makes a favour of naming to Metro's friend<sup>3</sup> 110 ἥμουν or ἥμην (i.e. Hdl.'s ἱθμην ?)

111 The traces after AΠ have been read as Ω by most editors, by Blass as ΗΛ; they seem to me to indicate a rather closely written EC; this gives us, with the remaining traces suitable but not certain, ἀπεσθ' ο ἀν' ἥρ, which is practically Bücheler's guess ἀπ[εσθ'] ὠνήρ, cf. Sappho 2; I do not regard ἀπόκισται, ἀπήκασται, ἀπέσφαλται, or ἀπήλλακται as possible readings of the traces; the last visible traces are certainly not those of iota; over θοαν there are perhaps traces of a correction (των ? i.e. 'read ἀπέστ' ὠνήρ' ?) 112 οἰγνυς rather than οἰγεις

113 θῶμε[ν] without a colon would be more usual Greek, and suits the traces rather better than θῶ μιν, but the singular is just possible with φέρε going before (with the first person *singular* a preceding imperative is essential, cf. Kühn.-Bl. II. 1, p. 219) 115 αρμοζε[ι]

128 The general meaning seems to be 'one should get ready in good time,' as it were 'mend your umbrella in fine weather'; after τὴν γὰρ οὖν βαίτην P has θαλπουσανευδεινδονφρονουντακαιραπτειν, Büch.-Hdl. θάλπους ἀνευ δεῖ τὸν φρονούντα καρράπτειν, Knox θάλπους ἀνευ 'νδον τὸν φρονούντα δεῖ ράπτειν; I suggest that ψύχους ἀνευ (cf. ἡλίου δίχα quoted by Hdl. from

<sup>1</sup> I take these values from Nairn, pp. 106 sqq.; they are of course intended merely for purposes of comparison, not as representing buying-power.

<sup>2</sup> If, as is believed by some, the stater was

equivalent to the daric, the difficulty is increased.

<sup>3</sup> For διπλόους rather than διπλοῦς cf. II. 54, and compare the Jersey *double* and our *doublon* 'from Span. *doblon*, so called because it is the double of the pistole' (Skeat).

Nic. *Ther.* 693) was misread ψύχουσιν εὔ and, as an epithet to βαίτην, without regard to the impossible position of the article, altered to θάλλουσιν εὔ; otherwise I should follow Hdl.

VIII. 2 for the sow cf. Ar. *Plut.* 1106 'your master, his wife, the children, the slaves, the dog, yourself, and the sow' 4 τοῦ κυσίου 8 τῶν θρῦν 10 δι' ἡ 11 clearly εἰα not ἐργα 14 τ[οῦ] ναρ 17 η[ν]

16-36 The *Dream* owes so much to previous work, particularly to that of Mr. Knox and the staff of the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> that I have some compunction in trying to better what they have done. But it cannot be denied that in its latest state the story does not develop naturally, and there are imperative palaeographical reasons for making the attempt.<sup>2</sup> It is true that Greek writers, except perhaps in choral lyric, generally insist, like children, on giving links in the tale which we tend to omit as obvious, and lengthy descriptions of dress or scenery were not to them otiose, at any rate in Alexandrian times; but this does not mean that a well-told Greek tale would include things which do not contribute to the story, or contain apparent reasons for actions which never come. For instance, what is the function, in this dream as we find it restored by Mr. Knox,<sup>3</sup> of the words ἡοῦς φαούσης, natural enough if we had been told that the journey began at night? For what action do the words τοῦ κόπου (or μῦνον οὐ) γὰρ ἐσσωμαι give the motive? No version of the *Dream* can be satisfactory which is not structurally a good story. The palaeographical reasons for trying to improve on this version will be found in my notes below. In l. 16 one is tempted to read [ἐκ] φάραγος, comparing l. 67, and take μακρῆς in the Homeric sense of 'deep'; but EK hardly fills the space, and in Herodas μακρῆς with φάραγος must, I think, mean 'long'; in either case, however, the dreamer is supposed to be saving the goat, which has wandered into a gully and got into difficulties; otherwise there is no good reason for the δῶρον, which he says he will get ἐκ Διωνύσου in the interpretation of the dream (l. 68). The following text owes much, of course, to previous editors:

τράγον τι' ἔλκειν [διὰ] φάραγος ὠίσμη[ν  
μακρῆς, ὃ δ' εὐπώγ[ω]ν τε κεῦκερος ἦ[ν] τις.  
ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ [ὕ]ψη [λότερος ἦ] α τῆς βήσης,  
ἡχ[οῦ]ς φα[νείσης, νήστιος] γὰρ ἐσσωμαι,  
20 σύ[θην] ὅκοι ὀρτάζον[τες] αἰπόλοι πλε[ίην]  
τῇ[ν] νηδὺν ἀκρήτου ὠρίων τ' ἐποιεῦ[ντο].  
κῆγῶ οὐκ ἐσύλευν [οὐδ] ἐν, [ὃ αἰξὶ δὲ τὰ π' ἄλλης  
καὶ ἄλλης δρυός [με σ]τέ[φε] ἐλάνθανε τρώγων.  
οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ καρτάσ[αν]τες [ἱρῆόν μοι, 'Αν]νᾶ,<sup>4</sup>  
25 τὸν αἰγ' ἐποίουν [ἐν δ' εἰ]π[νεον] σπαδίζαντες.

<sup>1</sup> See also Herzog, *Philologus* 79.

<sup>2</sup> These words were written before I saw Herzog (*Philol.*) or Knox (*C.R.*); they still apply, though the palaeographical reasons are not so strong as they were.

<sup>3</sup> Herzog's reading here, as too often elsewhere, does not account for the palaeographical facts.

<sup>4</sup> Or ἱριον, see below; the fragment πᾶ seems now (July, 1925) to have disappeared.

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Adonis,

<sup>1</sup> Herzog  
below it t

<sup>2</sup> By th

<sup>3</sup> E.g. f

<sup>4</sup> I.e. i  
to heel, c

<sup>5</sup> Knox

<sup>6</sup> Mr. A  
much he



- καὶ πλησίον μὲν <ε>[ς ἀγ]ῶν['] οἱ παῖζοντες  
 κ[ατ]ή[ε]σαν. μᾶ · μ[υστα]γ[ω]ς ἦν οἶος ·  
 σχ[ιστὸν] κροκωτ[ὸν] ἤμ[φ]ι[ε]στ['] δς ἀρράπτοις  
 ὦ[λαισι] λεπτῆς ἀντυγος καθίζ['] [οὔδας,  
 30 στ[ολίδα]ς<sup>1</sup> δὲ νεβροῦ χλανιδίω[ν] κατέζω[στ]ο  
 κ[αλ] λινέ[ην] κύπα[σσι]ν ἀμ[φ]ι τοῖς ὤμοις ·  
 κό[ρυμβα δ'] ἀμφὶ κρ[ητλ] κίσσι[ν] ἔστεπτο,  
 ὑπὸ δὲ κ[οθόρνου]ς φο<ι>ν[ι] <η>ι κα[τ]αζώστρη  
 ἔσφι<γ>κτο · κ[ὼ] μὲν το[ύ]το, δ[ς] ἂν [δ' ἀλφ] φρίκη[ι  
 35 ἔτερος, ἀλ]εωρὴν εἶχ[εν] ἥ ε[ι] θίσ[ται] ἀγρώτης.

'I dreamt that I was dragging<sup>2</sup> through a long ravine a goodly horned and bearded he-goat. And when I reached the higher parts of the woody glen, hearing a sound I hastened, for I was overcome with hunger, to a spot where goatherds keeping festival were filling their bellies with fruit<sup>3</sup> and unmixed wine. Nothing stole I, but the goat nibbled the fillets from off an oak-tree or two ere I could know it; whereat they that were near got possession of my goat, Annas, and made sacrifice of him, and then flaying him began to blow up the skin. Meanwhile the players took the floor near by. Lord! what a fine man was the leader of their mysteries! Clad was he in a slitten saffron gown which touched the ground with the unjoined edges of its delicate hem;<sup>4</sup> girt he was with the folds of a mantle of fawnskin and about his shoulders a linen cape; around his head was a twine of ivy-clusters, and beneath all he wore buskins drawn tight with crimson latches. So guised was he. As for any other that was taken with the chilly cold, his defence was that which is usual for country fellows.' In l. 18 for δὲ δῆ cf. III. 30, 36 19 I see ηχο[ν]ς<sup>5</sup> corrected to εο[ν]ς or perhaps εω[, but cf. *Od.* VIII. 499, Aesch. *Eum.* 569, and we want a motive (sound rather than sight in the βῆσσα) | τοῦ κόπου and μούνον οὐ both seem to me too long, and neither gives a reason for stealing, or rather refusing to steal; for the γάρ-clause placed before what it explains cf. Kühn.-Bl. II. 2. 333 20 Knox's first supplement was too short, his new suggestion σύ[μπαντες ἀλισθέν]τες is unsatisfactory (all of *what* goatherds?) 21 Should contain something (a) which a hungry (?) man might wish to steal (22), (b) which the goatherds could fill (?) something with; if this festival is the rural Dionysia, unmixed wine would seem suitable, and a measure of tipsiness would account well for the sequel; ὄρια are among the offerings to Adonis, Theocr. XV. 112;<sup>6</sup> for the language cf. *Od.* IX. 296, a passage, be it

<sup>1</sup> Herzog's στήθος is too short and his ποικίλην below it too long.

<sup>2</sup> By the horns, *see below*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. figs, if this is winter, *see below*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. it was slit on both sides from shoulder to heel, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 404.

<sup>5</sup> Knox's η[ου]ς hardly suits the traces.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. A. B. Cook, to whose kindness I owe much hereabouts, refers me for the 'fruit and

unmixed wine' at the rural Dionysia to the reliefs on the Stage of Phaedrus (see his restoration *Zeus* I., pl. XL.), which show a goat held by the horns (cf. Hesych. κερατοεσσεῖς· οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων) at an altar, an οἶνοχόη but no κρατήρ, and an offering of fruits (apparently figs) and cakes; he also would compare a red-figured amphora 2411 in the Naples Collection, *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI., pl. 37.

noted, which occurs not far from the Aeolus-episode (l. 36); note also that *ἐννέωρος* (l. 5) comes in *Od.* XI. 311 22 for the position of *μοι* cf. III. 73, VII. 126 23 I see no trace of Γ after TE, unless part of the horizontal stroke<sup>1</sup> is really part of a down-stroke, in which case the letter after E might be one of many, including Φ; for a similar E before Φ cf. II. 72, VII. 61; Γ is generally nearer, cf. V. 1, 14, VI. 11, VII. 101 | for the position of *δέ* cf. III. 19, 73, IV. 62, 92 | Mr. Cook's suggestion *στελίν*<sup>2</sup> 'mistletoe' (cf. Theophr. C.P. II. 17. 1, a Euboean word and therefore presumably Ionic) I have not been able to get in satisfactorily; *στέφρα* would be of wool, tying offerings to the trees (as in Pompeian paintings); to take them as vine-tendrils involves the rejection of the view that this festival is the rural Dionysia, which were held in midwinter; modern *cattle* will eat woollen garments hung out to dry | for nibbling goats leading to a quarrel and the impromptu trial of their keeper cf. Longus II. 3 24 Mr. Knox rightly rejects (C.R.) what he first printed, *δ[χθεῖν]τες*; it is too long and the traces do not suit it; but his new reading *ἄπ[αν]τες* gives no connexion with the previous sentence and is very weak, moreover the half-letter visible after TA is curved like C or E not Π | *καρτάσαντες* I take from Hesych. *καρτάζεσθαι*· *κρατύνεσθαι*; Hdt. prefers *καρτερός* to *κρατερός*; or we might read *κάρτ' ἄσ[αν]τες* 'mightily vexed,' comparing L. and S. for the intransitive use of *ἄω*, and *ἄση* and our use of 'fed-up' for the meaning (*μάλα δὲ κεκορημένοις* Γόργως Sappho 48 Bgk.) | the *eating* of the goat (cf. l. 70) is here implied in the sacrificing as in Theophr. *Char.* 9. 2 *θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς, αὐτὸς μὲν δειπνεῖν παρ' ἐτέρῳ, τὰ δὲ κρέα ἀποτιθέναι ἅλσιν πάσας* | to avoid the fifth-foot spondee we might adopt Hesychius' *ῥιον* (sic)· *τράγος*, comparing *ζήτρειον* 5. 32 which in Choeroboscus' text of H. was written *ζήτριον* (E.M. 411. 40, Crusius) 26 in what I take as *ων* the first stroke is consistent with Ω (the right-hand part of Ω is a down-stroke in this hand and sometimes ends almost perpendicularly as here, e.g. 7. 37; the beginning of this stroke is here lost in the selis) or with O (cf. the last O in l. 6) 27 *μυσταγωγός*, a mock-heroic metaphor, is due to Mr. Milne 28-9 *καθίζ'* is partly due to Mr. Milne; I take it as the aorist of *καθίκω* = *καθικνέομαι*; for *οὔδας* cf. VIII. 42; the *κροκωτός* was really a feminine *χιτών*, and so would be expected to touch the ground 30 at first this seems unsatisfactory, and not only because of the plural *χλανιδίων*; the two genitives 'folds of mantles of a fawn' are not exactly paralleled by any example given by Kühner-Blass II. 1. 337, though Eur. *Ph.* 308 *βοστρύχων* . . . *χαίτας πλόκαμον* s.v. l. comes nearer than most; however, there is Herodotus' *πέδιλα νεβρῶν* worn by the Thracians *περὶ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας* 7. 75, and if that is not to be corrected to *νεβρέων* 'fawnskins' we must not change *νεβροῦ* here to *νεβρῆς*; the next line precludes *στικτῆς* δὲ *νεβροῦ χλανιδίῳ*, which otherwise might serve (for dative cf. Eur. *Hec.* 432, *Hel.* 422, Pind. *Nem.* X. 82); *χλανιδίας* as an adjective with *στολίδας* also occurs to me, cf. *οἰκίδιος* Opp., *νυμφίδιος* Eur.;

<sup>1</sup> A piece of this has been lost or turned round since Nairn's facsimile was made.

<sup>2</sup> The alternative form would probably have to be *στελῖδα* in H.

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<sup>3</sup> II's w  
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but on the whole I prefer Knox's reading 33 the letter before KA, as Milne agrees, is hardly N or C | for confusion in MSS. between *φοίνιος* and *φόνιος* cf. Soph. Phil. 783 34 for  $\epsilon\sigma\phi\iota<\gamma>\kappa\tau\omicron$  (the  $\gamma$  is dropped in the perfect infinitive by some MSS. of Philostr. Vit. Ap. II. 63), which I thought of before seeing Herzog's paper, cf. passages quoted by Knox, p. 388 *med.* | the fragment containing  $\tau\lceil, \omicron\rceil$  can hardly belong here; it certainly does not belong where Herzog puts it, VIII. 38; probably to ll. 55-6 |  $\phi\rho\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta$  of winter, cf.  $\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\iota\alpha$  held in Poseideon in Attica | obviously, as Mr. Knox now apparently sees, after so long a description of one of the competitors or players, these two lines 34-5 must be descriptive either of  $\acute{\omicron}\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$  or of  $\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota$ , but Knox's  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$  can hardly stand for  $\tau\grave{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\nu$  | for this construction of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ <sup>1</sup> cf.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\varsigma$

36 sqq. We now come to the  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  itself; according to my restoration, we left some of the goatherds, presumably the older men, inflating the skin at l. 25 (imperfect  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\upsilon\epsilon\omicron\nu$ , see below); my suggestions are based on these considerations: (1) Herzog's view that  $\lambda\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  is the skin (cf.  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omega$ ), and Knox's that the word before  $\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  (38) is  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$ ,<sup>2</sup> seem to me very probably right, but Knox's  $\acute{\eta}\mu\lceil\kappa\omicron\nu$  does not fill the space in l. 36, and surely  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\lambda\omicron\upsilon\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon$  is impossible Greek; (2) the description of the size of the  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , if, as the interpretation of the *Dream* makes almost certain, it is the goatskin of l. 25, is only in point here if it describes what the goatskin *has now become*, i.e. by being inflated; (3) the most likely place for the fragment containing  $\Phi\eta$  and  $\epsilon\Gamma\omicron$ , or as Mr. Knox now reads it and as appears to me possible,<sup>3</sup>  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ , is under the  $\tau$  of  $\acute{\omicron}\delta\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$ ; (4) the fragment containing  $\kappa\epsilon\eta$ , or more probably  $\xi\epsilon\eta$ ,<sup>4</sup> I have placed with certainty before  $\lambda\acute{\omega}\pi\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  in l. 39, at a distance which would suit one letter such as H or N, or two such as  $\alpha\iota$ ,  $\omicron\iota$ ,  $\omicron\epsilon$ ,  $\omicron\theta$ ,  $\omicron\varsigma$  (the last three pairs written small and close); (5) the  $\text{NOC}$  of l. 73 fits this space exactly; (6) if  $\lambda\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  is the goatskin and ll. 36-7 describe its size,  $\tau\grave{\omicron}\ \delta\lceil\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\lceil\alpha$  can only be right if it comes in a speech; (7) however we restore ll. 38-9, they must deal with something which resembles what 'we,' the townsfolk,  $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \Delta\iota\omicron\nu\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\nu$ , and must be consistent with the skin ( $\delta\omicron\rho\acute{\eta}$  l. 47,  $\kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\upsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  l. 74), the inflation ( $\acute{\alpha}\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  l. 74), the jumping of the competitors on to the skin ( $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'\ \omicron\nu\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  l. 46), with the words  $\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$  (l. 38) and, probably,  $\pi\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu$  (l. 58), and with the actions of the competitors successful (ll. 45-7) and unsuccessful (ll. 41-4); (8) as Mr. Knox sees, we want some mention of the oiling or greasing of the skin, for there is no room for it in l. 25; I suggest:

$\acute{\omicron}\ \delta',\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\lceil\ \acute{\omicron}\ \lambda\acute{\omega}\pi\omicron\lceil\varsigma\ \kappa\acute{\omega}\rho\lceil\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\ \lceil\ \pi\epsilon\lceil\ \pi\omicron\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$

$\acute{\omega}\sigma\mu\eta\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\delta\lceil\upsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma\ \delta\lceil\lceil\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\ \alpha\acute{\iota}\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lceil\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\nu,$

<sup>1</sup> Suggested to me by Mr. Knox's (C.R.)  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$  (there is hardly room, I think, for his  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi'\ [\delta\pi\eta\ \tau\iota\varsigma]$  before it).

<sup>2</sup> The letter after  $\text{TO}$ , as Knox now sees, cannot be  $\Pi$ .

<sup>3</sup>  $\Pi$ 's whose top stroke does not project on the left occur in 7. 59, 8. 21, 22; the 'kick-up' of

the right leg is fairly common, and is found before  $\iota$  in 4. 13.

<sup>4</sup> E, H, T are just possible readings of this doubtful letter, hardly M.

<sup>5</sup> The  $\tau$  seems to me to be visible on the under surface.

χρίσας ἔφη· [“Ο ἀγὼν τόδε] τὸ δ[έρμ]α λακτίζειν,  
νικᾷ δ' ὅς ]ἐπ[ιβῆ] σκέλεος ἐ]ξ ἐν[ός] λῶστον,

40 ὥσπερ τελεῦμεν ἐν χοροῖς Διωνύσου.

‘And when the fell seemed to me to have grown to a wineskin of the size of Aeolus’ gift to Odysseus, the chief anointed it and said, “The joust is to tread this skin, the victory his that hops upon it best,” even as we do in the dances of Dionysus.’ In ll. 36-37 Ω is twice corrected to O; I suggest that *ωσσον* for *οσσον* was a mistake due to the preceding *ως*, and that *τω* for *το* was an anticipation of *λω*, both errors of a common type | for *κώρυκον ποιεῖν τι* cf. Timaeus ap. Diog. Laert. VIII. 60 *ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκούς ποιῆσαι* (quoted by Herzog)<sup>1</sup> 37 for the two genitives cf. Thuc. III. 12 *τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν* and other instances in Kühn.-Bl. II. 1. 337<sup>2</sup> 38 the first supplement is mainly due to Mr. Knox, though he writes *ἤλειψε καὶ ἔφη*, placing the fragment containing ΦΗ further to the right, which seems to me a less likely position; cf. for the crasis 4. 65 39 for the omission of *ἄν* cf. II. 43, III. 75 | *σκέλεος ἐξ* is a little long for the gap, but possible, since there is much small writing hereabouts, and not only at the end of the line | for the hopping cf. Plat. *Symῆ*. 190A, Eust. *Od.* X. 47 and other passages quoted by Knox, p. 389 | for the phrase *σκέλεος ἐξ ἐνός* (they also said *ἐφ' ἐνός σκέλους* and *ἐνὶ ποδὶ*) cf. Soph. *Phil.* 91 (of Philoctetes) *οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐνός ποδὸς | ἡμᾶς τοσούσδε πρὸς βίαν χειρώσεται*

45 Mr. Knox's *μου[νο]ς* is probably right, but why not *δῖς*? his use of *καί . . . δέ* is hard to explain in this context 47 Mr. Knox's old reading *ἀπαλ]ῶς* I find too long; I once thought of *οὕτως* ‘simply,’ i.e. just pressing against his foot without throwing him off; but though T is not invariably joined to a succeeding Ω (cf. IV. 51, V. 57, VII. 11), one would expect to see part of the cross-stroke here; so I should prefer *ὀρθῶς* and *πιεξεῦντα* (Herzog-Knox) 46 for the late *οὖν* with tmesis cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1047 48 ]*τα[εθλον* 58 *λὰξ πατέ[ων τὰ θεῶν ἱρά]* perhaps refers to the *ἀσκωλιασμός* having been participated in by a stranger; or is *πατέω* metaphorical, referring to the depredations of the goat?

64 the letter after *δορέα* cannot be Δ; it might be T (cf. the first T in l. 40), Ξ, less likely Z or Π; I suggest *τ[ίλλειν λεπτά* ‘tear in pieces,’ cf. l. 72, 2. 70, and Theocr. III. 21 65 *ελη[ξα* 66 *δ[ος]*

67 sqq. Knox's original supplements are too long in l. 68 and too short in l. 69, and in l. 69 P has, as he now agrees, not *εις* but *εκ*; Herzog's readings do not fit; I follow Knox's new readings, except that I should read in l. 67 *ὥς μὲν τὸ]ν αἶγα*, because *ὥς καλὸ]ν αἶγα* is too short; ‘Even as I dragged the

<sup>1</sup> With Mr. Knox's *ἡλκ]κον*, which for palaeographical reasons, as we have seen, is unlikely, we should have expected *πεφισῆσθαι*; the use of *τεποιῆσθαι* seems to call for a predicate.

<sup>2</sup> An alternative is to read *αἰόλον* or *Διολόν* as

the adjective, in the former case with a punning reference to Aeolus, in the latter taking *Διολόν* as the adjective of *Αἰολός* (‘of Aeolus’); or did H. write *Διόλιον* ‘of Aeolus’ (corrupted to *Διόλου*)?

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goat out of the ravine, so I shall have a gift from the fair Dionysus' (i.e. the prize at the Dionysia ?)

71 sqq. for the play on μέλεα 'limbs' and μέλεα 'songs, poems' cf. the *Tale of Echo*, Longus III. 23 | in ἐν Μούσῃσιν H.'s readers could hardly fail to see a reference to the Μουσείον at Alexandria, cf. Theocr. VII. 47; but the phrase must of course go with τιλεῦσιν; *pace* Knox and Herzog, it cannot go with πολλοί as if it stood for τῶν ἐν Μούσῃσιν ὄντων

72 Knox's ὦδε γ[οῖν κρίνω] will not do; as I see it, there is not room for ΠΙΝΩ after the K (which is partly visible), and hardly room for ΟΤΝ before it, moreover the letter after Γ is Ω; read with Crusius ὦδ' ἐγὼ [<ε>]κ[άξω], the last three letters of which must have been small and close, as often hereabouts, especially at the end of a line

76 sqq. Knox is right (C.R.) to reject ποεῖς in 78, but I do not think Mr. Milne's τι[μης] exhausts the possibilities, and ξξω] κλέος, the old reading, seems to me unquestionably right, cf. Ibycus, *O.P.* 1790 fin., a similar context; the chief trouble lies in the two η's; Herzog's use of ῆ . . . ῆ for εἶτε . . . εἶτε seems to me most unlikely, and if I understand him right Knox's view that τιμῆς μεθ' Ἰππώνακτα is dependent on τὰ κυλλά involves a use of the genitive of description in Greek, for which it would be hard, I think, to find a satisfactory parallel; the Laconian song, Ar. *Lys.* 1247, addressed to Mnemosyne, begins ὄρμαον τὼς κυρσανίως ὦ Μναμόνα τὰν τεὰν μῶαν, where ὄρμαον = ὄρμησον; HME in l. 76 seems to have changed HNME to HME in l. 77; I suggest, following HdI. in l. 76:

ξξω] κλέος, ναὶ Μοῦσαν, ῆ μ' ἔπεα κ[οσμείς,  
μέγ' ἐξ ἰάμβων, ῆ<ν> με δευτέρη<ι> γνώ[μη  
ὀρ]μα<ι>ς<sup>1</sup> (i.e. ὀρμῆς) μεθ' Ἰππώνακτα τὸν πάλαι [κείνον  
τὰ κύλλ' ἀείδειν Ξουθίδαις ἐπίουσι]ν.

'I shall have great fame from my verses, I swear it by thee, O Muse, that adornest my lines, if thou makest me to win the second place after old Hipponax in singing' [*lit.* makest me to sing with the second judgment or decision] 'crippled songs to the future children of Xouthos.' 79 κυλλ' (*sic*)

IX. The restoration of this tantalizing introduction cannot be certain, but as I cannot agree with some of Mr. Knox's readings of the more doubtful letters—for instance in ll. 2 and 8—, and I do not find his supplements always consistent with the size of the gaps—for instance in ll. 6 and 10—, I have made the following attempt. But I need hardly add I owe much to previous work. I take the scene to be a breakfast in the γυναικωνίτις. As the Greek breakfast<sup>2</sup> consisted solely of bread sopped in wine (Plut. *Q. Conv.* 8. 6. 4), it is natural that the scolding of the slaves should be in connexion with the bringing of wine and bread. The first two lines are concerned with the seating of the

<sup>1</sup> No room for ὀρ]μας (imperfect); a trace over the A is perhaps the remains of the correction H or HI (i.e. 'read ὀρμῆς ?).

<sup>2</sup> In view of Herodas' title and the derivation, it seems likely that for διανηστισμὸν in Ath. I. 11d we should read ἀπονηστισμὸν.

company, i.e. the children. The last I restore *exempli gratia* from Theocr. 28. The mother speaks:

- \*Ε]ξεσθε πάσαι. κοῦ τὸ παιδίον; δέξ[ον.  
 <ε>[Ι]σαι<sup>1</sup> π[ρ]ός, Εὐέτειρα, καὶ Γλύκην μ[ύ]ξον.  
 Β]ίτ[η, τί λ]αιδρὴ τὴν ἐτοῖμον (sc. μάζαν) οὐ[κ οἶσεις;  
 ἀ<ε>[ι] καθεύδ]εις· μὴ σε [κν]ισμάτων [μνήσω·  
 5 πλεῦσιν τὸ] δ<ε>[ι]να τ[ούτ' ἀ]νηνύτω[ς] ξύ[σω  
 ἢ ὅσοισι]ν ἢ δ[η] πολλ[α]χῇ πεποίκιλ[σαι.  
 φέρ' οἶνον· ἀ[λλὰ μὴ] φέρ', ἐς κόρον δ', Ἄννα,  
 βρ[ί][ζ'·] ὁ δ' ἐλ[άθειν] 'γερεθ<ε>[ισ]α δειλαίοις βλέψ[η.  
 φέρ' ὦ Ψεκ[ας τὸ] ἔκπω[μα· καὶ τὰ νῦν εὐδεις  
 10 αὐτῇ σύ; μ[ὴ] ἀλλὰ βλάπ[τεται] <ᾗ>φνω [σοι ἡ νῶσις·  
 οὐ πρόσθ' ἀ[νους] ἦσθ'· ἡ δὲ νῆ]νις, ἡ 'ξ[έλθω  
 τίθεσθ' ἄμ[ιλλαν] ἦς σὺ τ[ἀεθλον] ἐξοί[σεις;  
 γληχῶ [φέρ'· οὐ δὴ τοῖς το]κεῦσί σ' ἦειρα  
 e.g. [ὅπως σ' ἄεργον κἀκίρην τρέφοιμ' ἔνδον.]

This may be translated thus:

'Sit down everybody. Where's Baby? Give him to me. Sit next me [*or* sit up to table], Eueteira, and wipe Glyke's nose. Bitè, you hussy, why don't you bring what bread you have ready? You're always asleep. Mind I don't have to remind you of the scratchings I've given you. I'll give you at one beating more marks of ornamentation on the you-know-what than all you've had before put together. Bring some wine—no, don't bring it; have your sleep out, Anna; but what you forget is, how bad your eyesight will be when you wake up [*i.e.* you'll find you've a black eye]. Bring the cup, Psecas; why, are *you* asleep as late as this? No, no; it must be a sudden loss of wits; you used not to be a fool. And the girl—must I come out and make a race of it for you to win [*i.e.* come and drive you here]? Bring the pennyroyal. I didn't adopt you for the pleasure of keeping a pet do-nothing and sloven.'

1-2 In l. 2 (a) the letter before AI was either K or C; if C, it can have been preceded by iota, but by no other letter, (b) there is a high point<sup>2</sup> before καὶ Γλύκην, and the last syllable of Εὐέτειραν makes with it a spondee where, if it is the fourth foot, we must have an iambus; it seems to me that if (1) we read the first letters as καί, we must either suppose the initial καί to have been a mistake, or Εὐέτειραν to be a mistake for Εὐέτειρα, and if (2) we read them ισαι, i.e. εἶσαι or ἴσαι imperative of εἰσάμην, we have no choice but to read Εὐέτειρα and take it as vocative, which involves the equation εἶσαι, or ἴσαι, πρὸς=πρόσεισαι or πρόσισαι (for πρὸς in *imesi* cf. III. 85); I choose the latter alternative. Now εἶσαι or ἴσαι may be used either transitively or intransitively, cf. Ap. Rh. IV. 8 ἀνεείσατο and Hdt. III. 126, VI. 103 ὑπέισας (Cobet ὑπίσας), both meaning 'make to sit'.<sup>3</sup> The syllable δεξ[ may belong to the imperative

<sup>1</sup> Or [Ι]σαι, see below.

<sup>2</sup> Or a slightly misplaced mark of cancellation

meaning 'read Εὐέτειρα'? see below.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. παρίστασθαι, Lys. 18. 10.

Theocr. 28.

δέξον as Mr. Knox takes it, 'Give the baby to me,' or it may be some case of Δέξις or Δεξίω (cf. *I.G.* II. 984. 1. 11 and II. 2034, *Cic. Verr.* II. 5. 42). If (1) the verb is intransitive, I would translate as above. The mother receives the baby from the unnamed nurse, and then tells the eldest child to sit next her [*or up to table*] and wipe the third child's nose. The active of μύσσομαι is cited by Hesychius according to L. and S., but I cannot find it in Schmidt's edition; ἀπομύττω is quoted by Pollux 2. 78, and occurs in *A.P.* 11. 268 of a man wiping his own nose; the active would naturally be used of wiping other people's noses in nurseries; the simple verb, too, may well be nursery language. The family thus being seated, the mother calls for the food and drink. I am not sure if the absence of a name for the nurse who brings the baby is a blemish. If so, we must read κοῦ τὸ παιδίον, Δεξ[οῖ]; The only other objection I can see to this first alternative is, that with the possible exception of the baby all three children are girls, and that seems dramatically unsound. But, for all we know, this may be Herodas' own family (cf. the previous *Mime*) and we are dealing with fact, not fiction. If (2) εἶσαι or ἴσαι is transitive, we can give the mother a boy other than the baby by reading Δέξ[ιω, 'sit [=seat] Dexis next me [*or up to table*], a use naturally as rare in Greek literature as the nursery use of 'sit' transitively is in ours. But the use of the feminine πᾶσαι is against this; and δέξον certainly rounds off the baby-fetching episode, which is otherwise left in the air

3 The name Βιττώ occurs in a Coan inscription, *I.G.* 2236, and for the single T we might compare H.'s own Βίτιννα in V. and Βιτᾶς in VI.; but with the -ω suffix we should expect TT; I therefore suggest Βίτη, comparing Bechtel, *Hist. Personennamen*, p. 94, where he remarks that Βιτίας, Βιτιάς, Βιτίων, Βίτων, Βίττος presuppose a name Βίτος | λαιδρῆ is due to Mr. Knox | with the omission of μάζαν, cf. Alex. Κυπρ. 1. πόσους φέρεις; sc. ἄρτους

4 Either this is the rare construction 'Mind I don't remind you' exemplified in *Il.* I. 26, or μή is interrogative; the former best suits the following sentence

5-6 I have placed the fragment ]ξυ[, ]κιλ[, with some probability, by means of the grain of the papyrus, 3 mm. (a worm-course?) to the right of these lines; but κιλ is very uncertain, part of the surface being lost | the form πλεῦσιw is inferred from Hdt.'s πλεῦν, πλεῦνος, but some may prefer πλέοσιw | τὸ δεῖνα is κυσός or πνυγή, cf. Ar. *Ach.* 1149; for beating on the belly cf. Ar. *Ran.* 663, but the reference may be to depilation, cf. Cratin. *Νόμ.* 6 (a threat) | τὸ σόν would hardly fit the gap; for τοῦτο contemptuous=τὸ σόν cf. οὗτος=σύ; an alternative would be τ[όσ][σ]ον a corruption of τὸ σόν | ἀνγνύτως 'without pausing,' i.e. 'at one beating' | πολλαχῇ apparently 'ever before,' a construction arising from an attempt to add 'and they are many' to 'as many as'; cf. εἰ πολλάκις='if ever,' Kühner-Blass II. 2. 115

7 For the omission of the article with οἶνον cf. the same phrase in Ar. *Plut.* 644 and Anacr. 62 Bgk. and the *Anacreontea* | ἐς κόρον is so used by Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 26

8 δ δ' ἐλάθειν is like οὐ δ' ἐπεμνήσθην V. 53 and δ παρέλιπον Theophr. *Char.* VII. 3 | for the omission of ὀφθαλμοῖς cf. V. 60, VI. 23

9 The name is doubtful, the traces favouring Ψετ[ or Ψεπ[; but cf. Cic. *Fam.* VIII. 12. 2, Juv. VI. 489 | a single cup is conceivable for breakfast in a nursery, where old customs (cf. the loving-cup and the Eucharist and Alcaeus 41 Bgk. ἀ δ' ἀτέρα τὰν ἀτέραν κύλιξ ὠθήτω) die hard; κύπελ]λα is too short

10 After βλάπτεται the scribe wrote or began φρένας, reading φνωσοι as φρενασοι, which was corrected by striking through ρενα and writing νω above (the φ is not struck out); for the contracted form νῶσις cf. νῶβυστρα VI. 16.

11 Cf. Ar. *Nub.* 5, Theocr. X. 23

13 γληχώ is the Ionic form, cf. Hipp. II. 323 Kühn; what is pennyroyal doing here? Though I am assured that those are not its real properties, it seems to have had a vogue in Hippocrates' and Herodas' native Cos as a laxative, and it is therefore quite proper to a nursery breakfast; in Hipp. *l.c.* and *ib. fin.* it is an ingredient of a medicine which τὴν κοιλίαν λύει; in another passage, I. 688 Kühn, it is precisely stated that it θερμαίνει καὶ διαχωρίζει. In fifth-century Athens it was used to counteract over-indulgence in eating fruit, Ar. *Pax* 712 and Sch. | ἥειρα is apparently used of adopting (as a slave) an exposed child

14 ἔνδον with τρέφω would suggest 'keeping as a pet,' i.e. 'idle,' cf. Theophr. *Char.* XXI. 6 of a tame jackdaw.

I add a few exegetic and illustrative notes:

III. 42 τί μιν δοκεῖς τὰ σπλάγχνα τῆς κακῆς πάσχειν  
ἐπεὰν ἴδωμι;

τί δοκεῖς is apparently like πῶς δοκεῖς, πῶς οἶει, πόσον δοκεῖς, 'you can't think what'; cf. Kühner-Blass II. 2. 354

59 The name Φίλλος occurs in Anacreon 172 Bgk.

IV. 11 For fowl-roosts on the walls of houses cf. Theocr. XIII. 13 where they are called 'smoky' because they were near the smoke-hole or chimney

VI. 54 Cf. the proverb ἡσάν ποτ' ἦσαν ἄλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι and its variants, with references in *Paroem. Gr.* I. 151 Leutsch

VII. 28 κοῦδὲ κηρὸς ἀνθήσει: for this use of κηρὸς of encaustic painting cf. *Anacreont.* XVII. 28 *et al.*

XI.a καθελεῖν ἰστόν: to 'take down' the weaver's beam because the piece of cloth is finished, cf. Theocr. XV. 35, XVIII. 35, Bion II. 24.

My thanks are due to Mr. A. B. Cook for some valuable archaeological suggestions in *Mime* VIII., and to Mr. H. I. Bell and Mr. H. J. M. Milne for ungrudging help with certain doubtful letters; my debt to Mr. A. D. Knox I share with all scholars.

J. M. EDMONDS.

CAMBRIDGE.

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## ANTIGONE AND THE BRIDE OF CORINTH.

THIS paper sets out to answer four apparently unconnected questions, which, however, I hope to show to be parts of one question :

- (1) Why did Haimon kill himself over the body of Antigone?
- (2) Why did Philinnion return for three nights to her father's house?
- (3) Why is it unlawful (*οὐ θέμις*) to leave a story unfinished?
- (4) Why is a magician sometimes torn in pieces by his own devils, or otherwise destroyed by his own magic?

The last statement is familiar to everyone; the third rests on the excellent authority of Plato (*Gorgias* 505c, where see Stallbaum); the first two need some preliminary explanation. A great part of the significance of Sophokles' admirable play is lost by those who misinterpret the episode of the suicide; it seems a rather unnecessary addition to Kreon's woes. But the matter has been put in its true light by P. Roussel, in *Rev. ét. grecques*, 1922, pp. 63 sqq. Haimon and Antigone are betrothed, as the only possible interpretation of 570 shows. ἀρώσμου γὰρ χυτέρων αὐτῶ γύαι, says Kreon; Ismene answers, οὐχ, ὥς γ' ἐκείνῳ τῇδ' τ' ἦν ἡρμοσμένα—i.e. 'That is not so, for they (Haimon and Antigone) had already been betrothed (before this affair began).' Kreon therefore is doubly impious; he insults (*ἀτιμάζει*, 572) not only Haimon, whose marital rights he violates, but Hades. A virgin may, as I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> shown, be wedded to Hades, not merely in poetical fancy, but in cult; but a married woman cannot; Hades, like all Greek gods, refuses to countenance polyandry. The bride is given over into his keeping (890), and is definitely in his charge. The fact that she hangs herself in the tomb, and thus avoids starving to death, is of no ritual importance, for she is ritually dead from the moment it closes over her. This being so, Hades necessarily and inevitably brings the bridegroom to her. It is the well-known story of Leonora, with the sexes reversed; a story which, whether surviving or revived, is still in circulation in Greece, as may be seen from Bikellas' tale, 'Ο ὄρκος τῆς ἀγάπης, which claims with obvious truth to be of popular origin.

But there was another possibility, somewhat less gruesome, but equally thrilling, and more familiar to us generally because, while Sophokles has been misunderstood, Goethe has made it the subject of his famous poem, *Die Braut von Corinth*. The fullest version we have is in Phlegon of Tralles, *de mirabilibus* 1 (Westermann, *Paradoxogr.*, pp. 117 sqq.). Unfortunately the beginning is lost, and has to be supplied from the much shorter version of Proclus (*in rem. pub.* II., p. 116, Kroll), who cites as his authority Naumachios of Epeiros; as Naumachios was a writer of the fourth century (*ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πάππων*, says Proclus, writing in the fifth), he probably used Phlegon, who was a *libertus* of Hadrian, and another of whose stories he has reproduced in the same passage. We may therefore regard this fragment as equivalent to an epitome of the *de mirabilibus* so far as it goes. Patching the two together, then, we have the following tale: In the reign of Philip of Macedon—probably Philip II. is meant, but the historical framework is of the shakiest—a married couple in Corinth, Demostratos and Charito, married their daughter Philinnion to a certain Krateros. But she died, and six months afterwards a guest, Machates, visited her parents' house. The rest proceeds as in Goethe's

<sup>1</sup> In a paper read before the British Association at Toronto, August, 1924; see *Classical Philology*, July, 1925.

poem: the young man receives the visits of a girl, whom he takes to be a hetaira; on the third night Philinnion's mother, who has heard of the matter, and begged Machates to let her have sight of the mysterious visitor, intrudes, and finds that it is her own daughter, who thus addresses her and her husband: 'Mother and father, how ill you use me, grudging me my three days with our guest in my own father's home, when I hurt no one! Therefore you, for your meddling, must mourn me again; but I will go back to my appointed place, for my coming was by the divine will.' Thereat she falls dead; the governor of the city hears of the matter, and by his orders the tomb is examined, and found to contain, where the body of Philinnion ought to be, a ring which Machates had given his visitor.

I forbear for a moment to comment on the story, which I take to be garbled at one point and incomplete in another, but pass on to mention another marvel quoted by Proclus from Naumachios. One Rufus of Philippi, chief priest of Thessalonike, undertook to give certain games, but died before he could do so. Three days after his death he came to life, and, the tale continues, 'stated that he had been sent up by the chthonian gods to accomplish the public games.' This he did, and then, as Gunga Dass says, 'died conclusively.'

What I wish to point out is that both the priest and the bride are in the same position, not only as Haimon and Antigone, but as the story-teller who is half-way through. Whatever else a story may be (and it is and has been many things), it is frequently a charm or a piece of ritual, as has been so often pointed out that I need hardly give examples. Hence to be part way through one of the ritual tales (say, half-way through the story of Iron, in the *Kalevala*, or the tale of Persephone, which the witch threatens to tell in the sixth book of Lucan) is to be half-way through a rite. But so are Haimon and Antigone. They are betrothed, but have not yet completed, and especially have not yet consummated, their marriage. The priest in the story from Naumachios is in like case; he is, in Roman phraseology, *ucti damnatus*, but has not as yet paid his sacril debt.

Much has been written, notably by the French school of sociologists, *quos honoris causa nomino*, without professing implicit belief in all their theories, about the difference between sacred and secular, tabu and non-tabu, and the ritual, often very complicated, needed in order to pass from one state to the other. M. van Gennep also has done lasting service to science in his monumental work, *Les Rites de Passage*, in insisting on the highly sacril nature of all thresholds—notably that between two of the great stages of life, as childhood and puberty, or the single and the married state. But some are perhaps a little apt to forget, firstly, that it is quite as magical a business to make a sacred into a profane person or place; and, secondly, that a ritual 'threshold' is not a mathematical line, but of perceptible width, so that it is possible to step on it and stay there. To marry, for example, may take all manner of different periods of time: a few minutes, if we like, among ourselves; some years, if the thing is done with full Bulgarian ceremonial; and therefore it is possible to remain half-married. But the half-married are clearly in a very parlous state, belonging neither to one class nor to another, and therefore in a tabu condition, from which they can release themselves only by fulfilling the rite they have begun. This, doubtless, is the reason why in Hades we find not only the Danaids, who on the most plausible explanation of their punishment spend eternity in trying to get married, but also a host of unhappy lovers, who have nearly all this in common, in Vergil,<sup>1</sup> that at the time of their death they were betwixt and between in some way or other—

His Phaedram Procrinque locis

One had tried to be the wife simultaneously of father and son; the other had been slain by her husband, thus unnaturally breaking the tie between them.

<sup>1</sup> *Aen.* VI. 444 sqq.

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p. 213).  
for one in  
Sophokles

maestamque Eriphilen  
crudelis nati monstrantem uolnera cernit

She again had broken the tie by violence, being the murderess of her husband.

Euadnenque et Pasiphaen; his Laodamia  
it comes, et iuuenis quondam, nunc femina Caenis,  
rursus, et in ueterem fato reuoluta figuram.

The first three are out of the picture. Vergil, I think, did not understand Euadne's perfectly correct *sati*, and thinks of her as a suicide; Pasiphae had been grossly misrepresented for many centuries before he mentioned her, and Laodamia is in the same class with Euadne; but Kainis-Kaineus is certainly in place, having been both man and woman. In a very similar position are the unburied dead. Indeed, the whole horror of vampires, *ἄωροι, βαιοθάνατοι*, and such uncanny spooks, is that they are not properly dead at all. The living one is used to; the real dead are all very well in their way; according to local belief and custom they come back as babies, or show themselves at soul-feasts for a few hours each year, or abide decently in their tombs, or in Hades; but the others are, in Bram Stoker's expressive phrase, 'Undead.' They have not lived on earth long enough to qualify for admission into the world of shades, or some irregularity in their own condition or the rites of their sepulture has stopped them on the way, hence they are miserable, much more miserable than either the dead or the living, and consequently liable to work off their ill-temper on those unfortunate enough to come within their reach. In particular, they are horribly apt to make other people like themselves. It is well known that a vampire's victims themselves tend to become vampires, and hundreds of *defixiones* appeal to the *βαιοθάνατοι* to kill someone.

Antigone then, from the moment of her entrance into the tomb, and therefore into the world of the dead, was in an unbalanced state magically, doubly so in fact; for she was in Hades' province, yet not as yet actually out of the body, and she was neither married nor unmarried. So she drew Haimon after her, as he foresaw that she would (751, ἦδ' οὖν θανείται, καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλέει τινα, a remark which one or two moderns misunderstand as badly as Kreon, though in a different way).

All this surely throws a strong light on the tale of Philinnion. It seems to me necessary to assume that she died still a virgin, and fairly likely that in the original story Machates and Krateros were one and the same person. However, this last point is not quite necessary; Machates, if not her actual husband, was well fitted to represent him, being an outsider, who declared himself such by sleeping in the guest-room. What makes me think that he was her husband is that, according to Phlegon, he gave her an iron ring, which is surely a gift rather suited to a bride than to a light-o'-love.<sup>1</sup> In any case, she must have died with the all-important τέλος unaccomplished. Why she was to return for three nights in particular, apart from the familiar magical connotations of three, I do not know; but the first three nights of marriage (the 'nights of Tobias') have certainly at some times and places a particular significance.

It remains, however, to ask why Philinnion did not attract her husband to her, or, alternatively, why Antigone did not return to life. Either would do so far as fulfilling the rite was concerned, and certainly Philinnion was quite as much in the realm of Hades as Antigone. The answer is incidentally furnished by Wissowa in his admirable article on the entombment of guilty Vestals (*A.R.W.* XXII, 1924, p. 213). Philinnion was innocent of all offence, and great allowance could be made for one in her unhappy position; but Antigone was undeniably a great sinner. Sophokles, indeed, is sympathetic towards her, but the earlier age which framed the

<sup>1</sup> See Pliny, *N.H.* XXXIII. 12, *sponsae . . . ferreus anulus mittitur*.

story was clearly less so. She had most flatly disobeyed her king, and at the same time the nearest available representative of her father, for Oedipus was either dead, in exile, or dethroned and under a curse, leaving Kreon the senior male of the household. Hence, with the usual reluctance to shed kindred blood, she had not been put to death, but subjected to an ordeal; Hades could not, in common justice, let her come out of it alive. Therefore, as Haimon unluckily had associated himself closely with her, there was no alternative to making him die also. 'Therefore she perished, and in her death was the bale of another also.'

Indeed, so full of magic is the whole business of marriage (owing, of course, to the immense psychological, and therefore magical, importance of all that relates to the sexual functions), that even long-established married couples are apt to attract each other to or from Hades. I have mentioned Euadne and Laodamia, to keep to Greek examples, setting China, India, etc., aside; Pausanias remembers that Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, was the first widow ever to remarry;<sup>1</sup> Orpheus and Eurydike are well known not only in Thrace, but from there eastward to the Pacific coast of America, if not farther. But as a rule no such fatal consequences follow in Greek thought the death of a husband or wife. The reason appears to be that, to a Greek, mere long continuance in a given state tended to make its magical importance pass off. This is an early idea enough. Minos had to do something, whatever exactly it was, every eighth year, in order to remain 'gossip of Zeus' (τ 179); and the unburied and untimely dead could manage to get across Styx if they waited long enough. But as a rule definite measures have to be taken to desacralize one's self. A Roman after prayer was careful to turn his back on the god and sit down to let the holiness pass off; Pythagoreans were strongly advised to go out of a temple the reverse way to that by which they came in. So with the many magicians who, like Ancus, Faust, or Lay-brother Peter, were undone by their own magic, whether broomsticks, thunderbolts, or demons. They used only the first half of the charm; and to complete their abracadabras there was need of a St. Dunstan to desacralize all with a stern 'Vade retro, strongbeerum.'

H. J. ROSE.

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ABERYSTWYTH.

Paus. II. 21, 7.

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## THE (HOMERIC) HYMN TO HERMES.

(Continued from the 'Classical Quarterly,' Vol. XVIII., p. 141.)

- 193 ἐξ ἀγέλης · ὁ δὲ ταῦρος ἐβόσκετο μῶνος ἀπ' ἄλλων  
κύνεος, χαροποιὶ δὲ κύνες κατόπισθεν ἔποντο  
τέσσαρες ἤντε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες · οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν  
οἷ τε κύνες ὁ τε ταῦρος, ὁ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται.

HORACE has told us that the author of a literary work,

qui uariare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,

falls into absurdities. Much more likely to meet this fate is the interpolater who has the same ambition. The above four lines are a case in point; for it is fairly certain that if this Hymn were presented to readers as it came from the hand of its author, the whole passage with its phenomenal bull and its four pacifist dogs which apparently had agreed together not to bark and bite, 'as is their nature to,' would not be found in the text. Undoubtedly it is true, though it is by no means a marvel (θαῦμα), that the bull which was somewhere else and the dogs which were following in his wake were not taken by the infant cattle-lifter who was satisfied, as he well might be, with a trifle of fifty cows. The veracity of the interpolater in this regard may, therefore, pass without question, and furthermore his knowledge of epic metre does not fail seriously till he reaches the fourth line, although ὁ δὲ ταῦρος is not really epic and ἀλλάων not ἄλλων is required in the opening line, for he certainly did not mean, as he unwittingly says 'other bulls,' but 'the others, the cows.' After οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν (not οἱ μὲν as a recent edition has it) it is quite out of the question that οἷ τε κύνες ὁ τε ταῦρος, two flagrant examples of the later article, should follow. Should anyone feel satisfied to defend this expression by translating whimsically 'both those dogs and that bull,' he would hardly succeed in convincing any scholar but himself, and of this limited success τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται might well be said; and even then there remains the undeniable and awkward fact that five short syllables are found standing in sequence in this misbegotten and fraudulent verse. In reality all four lines are based on the genuine—

- 192 πάσας θηλείας πάσας κέρασσιν ἐλικτάς.

Note the weakness of the connecting link ἐξ ἀγέλης standing in a position of unusual emphasis. If we place or rather replace the full-stop after ἐλικτάς, the line concisely states the fact the interpolater elaborates with so much ridiculous detail, finally challenging admiration for the wonders he has revealed.

- 199 ταῦτά μοι εἶπέ, γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, εἴ που ὄπωπας  
ἀνέρα ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί διαπρήσσοντα κέλευθον.

Read ταῦτά μ' ἔνισπε for the sake of the metre. For full proof of this v. *Homeric*, p. 95. In the second line τῆσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί would be an improvement.

209 ὅς τις ὁ παῖς, ἅμα βουσὶν ἐνκραίρησιν ὀπήδει.

Probably ὅς τις ὀπισθ', which might easily suggest ὁ παῖς, especially after the preceding παῖδα δ' ἔδοξα (originally perhaps παῖδ' ἐδόκησα). In 211 κάρη δ' ἔχεν (or ἔχον) ἀντίον αὐτῷ should certainly be ἀντίον αὐτῶς 'right facing him,' cf. Γ 220 ἀφρονά τ' αὐτῶς. Φ 474 ἀνεμώλιον αὐτῶς.

218 ἔχινά τ' εἰσενόησεν Ἑκηβόλος εἰπέ τε μῦθον.

The substitution of Ἀπόλλων for Ἑκηβόλος would suffice to restore the metre, and no one need hesitate to make the change; for it is surely impossible to maintain that in the old epic the tradition is immaculate, when in the forefront of a drama (the *Alcestis*) we find ἥλιος actually and absurdly displacing this very Ἀπόλλων.

We might, indeed, retain Ἑκηβόλος by reading ἦρχέ τε μῦθον instead of εἰπέ τε μῦθον, but the tampering with the varying names is more probable here, see note on *Hymn. Apoll.* 177 f. (*Cl. Rev.* XXXII. p. 144) and 286 (*id.* XXXIV. p. 85) as instances in point, also *Hymn* XXV. 2.

ἐκ γὰρ Μουσάων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,

where the ending should certainly be Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο, as serious a metrical offence to the later Greeks as the false tradition would have been to their ancestors who listened to the early epic poet.

224 οὔτε τι κένταυρον λασιαύχενα ἔλπομαι εἶναι,  
ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν.

The MSS. give κενταύρου λασιαύχενος. The acc. (Schneidewin, Abel) is necessary metrically and called for by the turn to the sentence given by the next line ὅς τις κτλ. 'I do not expect that he who makes (or made) such tracks is (or was) a Centaur. The accusative is the expression of a poet; the genitive that of a short-sighted grammarian.

My own correction here concerns only 225. I submit the true reading would be

ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρ βιβᾶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν.

So we have—

ι 428 τῆς ἐπὶ Κύκλωψ εὔδε πέλωρ, ἀθεμίστια εἰδώς  
Σ 410 ἦ, καὶ ἀπ' ἀκμοθέτοιο πέλωρ αἶητον ἀνέστη  
μ 87 γίγνεται, αὐτῇ δ' αὐτὴ πέλωρ κακόν.  
*H. Apoll.* 374 αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος ἡελίοιο.  
401 νῆϊ θοῇ, καὶ κείτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε.

In our passage the point is, 'What monster made such tracks as these?' The character of the tracks is sufficiently portrayed in the next line,

αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖ', ἔτι δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο,

in which the traditional ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' has been, I think, more correctly written, cf. ἔτι μᾶλλον *passim*, ἔτι πλεονας, etc.

230 ἀμβροσίῃ ἐλόχευσε Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος.

Read ἀμβρότῃ ἐξελόχευσε. The adj. ἀμβρόσιος is never applied to a person, nor is it reasonable to suppose that the hymn-writer was unaware of this. In later days the two epithets were held to be synonymous, and the more pleasing form ἀμβρόσιος, naturally the more popular one, nearly swept away ἀμβροτος altogether.

- 237 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ' · ἥνυτε πολλὴν  
 πρέμνων ἀνθρακὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
 ὡς Ἑρμῆς Ἑκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνεΐλε' εἰ αὐτόν.  
 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε.  
 (241) φή ῥα νεόλλουτος, προκαλείμενος ἦδυμον ὕπνον  
 ἐγρήσσω ἐτεόν γε · χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχε.

As there is no real difference between logs and timber, πρέμνα and ὕλη, there is good reason for mistrusting or rather for rejecting ὕλης σποδός for which M has ὀλοσποδός. Hermann's suggestion οὐλη σποδός, which I take to mean 'fluffy ash,' is in every respect more to the purpose.

In 239 Ἑκάεργον like Ἑκηβόλον in 218 cannot be right. In all probability Ἑρμῆς also is merely a gloss on a pre-existent pronoun which is all that is here necessary. Then the line might take this form:

ὡς ἄρ' ὃ γ' Ἀπόλλωνα ἰδὼν ἀνεΐλε' εἰ αὐτόν,

or with the usual epic tmesis ὡς ὃ γ' ἐς Ἀπ. The correction of ἀλείειν ἐαυτόν (MSS.) is due to Lohsee and Postgate. This εἰ αὐτόν would be originally εἴF' αὐτόν. In the next line Gemoll's συνέλασσε is obviously right for συνέλασσε which implies a more or less violent collision quite out of place here.

The faulty tradition of 241 presents a very great, if not insuperable, difficulty. The first three words vary in a remarkable manner.

δὴ ῥα νεόλλουτος  
 θῆρα νέον λοχάων.

The situation is this. Hermes has curled himself up in bed and is pretending to be sound asleep, though he is really wide awake. Beyond all doubt this is the meaning down to the middle of 242, if ἐγρήσσω ἐτεόν γε be right, as all seem ready to admit. But can it be reasonably maintained that the line given above

φή ῥα νεόλλουτος, προκαλείμενος ἦδυμον ὕπνον

gives the required representation or fits the scene at all? Clearly it does not. In Mr. Evelyn White's translation I find 'like a new born child seeking sweet sleep.' There is a great difference between 'seeking sleep' and 'feigning sleep,' and προκαλείμενος means neither, the proper sense being 'challenging.' Then for the first phrase, as there is no doubt but Hermes *was* a new born child, it is idle to say he was like one. This consideration disposes of the emendation φή for δὴ originally made by Barnes and afterwards by Hermann in an unhappy moment, and latterly hailed as 'brilliant' by two misleading editors. Here it is quite misplaced and useless. Further consideration must be given to δὴ ῥα (which may be found in this position in θ 423 δὴ ῥα τότε) and particularly to λοχάων which might have been corrupted into -λουτος after νέον, but could not conceivably itself arise from any depravation of such an original. Now λοχάων means 'ambushing' or 'being in ambush' and occurs frequently in Homer, e.g. δ 847 λοχώντες Ἀχαιοί, Σ 520 εἶκε λοχῆσαι 'there was room for an ambush,' and there is also a form ἔλλοχάων found in later writers, but not necessarily unepic (Plat. *Theat.* 165 D). Now if ἔλλοχάων means ἐν λόχῳ ὢν we may without extravagance assume that ἐλλεχάων would be the same as ἐν λέχει ὢν and this is precisely the meaning required here, which might also be expressed by ἐλλέχιος. The double λλ of νεόλλουτος lends some support to both alternatives.

There still remains a serious obstacle to the restoration of the line in προκαλοῦμενος ἦδυμον ὕπνον. To my mind καλούμενος seems to point directly to κηλούμενος

sc. ὕπνῳ in which case either ἡδυμον or προ- must be excluded. Of the two ἡδυμον is most probably insititious, and προ almost certainly is a misreading of an abbreviated πολλῶ. Thus we reach for the ending

πολλῶ κηλεύμενος ὕπνῳ

'spell bound in deep sleep' and for the whole line a fair approximation to the original might be:

δὴ ῥα νέος λεχάων, πολλῶ κηλεύμενος ὕπνῳ

'just, as it seemed (ῥα), a young child abed, spell-bound in deep sleep' or with less regard to the tradition the opening words might run

νήπιος ἐλλεχάων

or even ἐλλικνάων (cf. 254) 'an infant in the cradle.'

261 Λητοῖδῃ, τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ξειπας,  
καὶ βοῦς ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις;

For καί Matthiae conjectured ἦ which he afterwards retracted. On the other hand Abel adopts it in his text. It does not necessarily imply that Hermes did not know the reason for Apollo's coming. To ask 'Is this the place you come to in quest of oxen?' is quite appropriate in itself and need not be abandoned, 'quod esset eius, qui quae caussa Apollini ueniendi fuisset nesciret,' as Matthiae himself supposed. Therefore, if ἦ be rejected, it must be for a different reason, as will be seen later.

The reading given above, the traditional reading, adopted by Gemoll and by Sikes and Allen, is inadmissible. As S. and A. rightly say, the sense is: 'Why do you speak so sharply and come in quest of cows?' But there is no 'why' in the first question; τίνα μῦθον means 'what word' or 'what saying,' nor can the necessary 'why' be extracted from τίνα for the second question.

This is obvious at a glance, as also, it might be supposed, is the simple and certain remedy from the change of one letter only (α to υ):

Λητοῖδῃ, τί νυ τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ξειπας,  
καὶ βόας ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις;

Cf. A 424 τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα; a 62 τί νύ οἱ τόσον ὠδύσας, Ζεῦ; cum multis aliis locis.

266 οὐκ ἐμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δέ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν·  
ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός.

As the metre indicates, and as the construction confirms, for ἔργον, ἄλλα, ὕπνος, γάλα, ἔχειν, and λóετρα are all subjects to the verb μέμηλε twice repeated, οὐ μοι should be read for οὐκ ἐμὸν; otherwise πάρος would be less efficient in its clause.

But in the second line ἡμετέρης is remarkable after ἐμὸν, μοι, and ἐμοί γε: even the needs of the metre barely excuse the plurality here, especially when we notice that μητρός without any addition says all that is required. In δ 89 we find ἐπητανὸν γάλα θῆσθαι and in σ 360 σίτον μὲν ἐπητανὸν παρέχοιμι. This makes me inclined to think that the redundant ἡμετέρης is a later substitute for the somewhat similar, but archaic, epithet I have quoted. Its restoration involves a very trifling accommodation thus:

ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλ' ἰδ' ἐπητανὸν γάλα μητρός.

The idea of Gemoll and others that ἡμετέρης is used for ἐμῆς because Hermes is standing on his dignity is a misapprehension of the scene. Hermes is ready, I freely admit, to adopt any pose to suit the occasion; but here he is playing the part of the simple, innocent and helpless baby who could do nothing for himself, but was

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dependent on others for everything. It is quite futile to refer to v. 465. There he is the master-player on the lyre: here he calls himself *παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα*.

272 *βουσι μετ' ἀγρᾶλοις*.

This reading is clearly wrong. It appears in the Oxford text, though all the later editors follow Schneidewin in his necessary correction *βουσὶν ἐπ'*. So Abel, Gemoll, and even Evelyn-White who is usually content to follow Mr. Allen. They all have Stadtmüller's *διέκ* instead of *διὰ* in the preceding line, *διέκ προθύροιο περῆσαι*. Messrs. S. and A. offer a remarkable defence of the tradition. They say that 'Hermes remarks that it would be strange for a child to come *through* (*διὰ*) the door *with* (*μετά*) oxen. This sense,' they proceed, 'seems quite possible, as Apollo expected to find the cows inside the cave (246 sq.). At any rate Apollo thought it desirable to look if they were there, and had satisfied himself that they were not. But even if they had been found inside, driven in by Hermes from the rear, the proper expression here would still have been *βουσὶν ἐπ' ἀγρ.* not *βουσι μετ' ἀγρ.*, unless Hermes adopted a method of getting his herd in which no one ever tried or ever is likely to try as long as the world lasts. The immortals might well be astonished.

As to the appearance of *μέτα* in the tradition I expect it was a marginal remark of some one who knew that *μετά* 'in quest of' would have suited the passage, and then it was taken for a variant despite the datives. With the datives *μέτα* is simply preposterous nonsense. 'The general view that Hermes speaks of going out' to steal the cows is the only tenable one and the attempt to shake it fails completely. The inception of the enterprise is the marvel, not a closing incident that never occurred.

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### 'CIRIS.'

My colleague, Professor W. M. Lindsay, invites, or challenges, me to reply to his note on 'Cirís' (*Class. Quart.* XIX., pp. 103, 104); I can but take him at his word.

Professor Lindsay seeks to identify the two birds *Haliaetus* and *Ciris*, and finds the task an easy one; he identifies Ciris with a *Tern* confidently and categorically. We learn (he says) 'from Gallus' *epyllium* . . . that it was a sea-bird with red legs, so rapid in flight that it always evaded the swoop of the sea-eagle. What can this be but a tern?'

Were we quite sure that Ciris was a sea-bird, certain also that the poet was dealing with matters of fact and doing his best to describe a scene witnessed on the shore, we might consider Professor Lindsay's conclusion to be at least a plausible one, and his identification as near the truth as scanty evidence permits; but I am sure of none of these things. I am sure that the story is a mystical one; it is not about a real King nor a real Princess, and it may well be that the birds are as fabulous as the Princess and the King.

To identify a classical bird-name is sometimes easy; when it is not plain and easy it is apt to be very hard indeed. We depend on three sorts of evidence: on tradition, on actual descriptions of plumage or allusions to habit, and on the names which survive (sometimes with astonishing vitality) in Modern Greek and in Italian dialects. In the case of Ciris there is no tradition to guide us, nor can I find a trace of the name in modern dialects. This latter fact is remarkable enough; it tempts me to believe that the word never was vernacular, that it never was a name used in popular speech to signify a familiar species of bird.

But when we fall back upon description there is more in the '*epyllium*' than

Professor Lindsay quotes. Whatever bird it was, the Ciris was a very beautiful bird—it was more beautiful than Leda's Amyclaeon swan. A tern is a very beautiful and very graceful bird, but to compare it, however remotely, with a swan is, to say the least of it, a far-fetched comparison. It might be partly justified by the shining whiteness of the tern; but what does the poet say of the plumage of Ciris? 'At mollis uarios intexens pluma colores | marmoreum uolucris uestiuit tegmina corpus.' Why, we are told in plain words that it was not white at all, but many-hued. I have seen black terns (which are common in Italy), and black terns with white wings, and white terns with their tint of silvery grey; but I cannot recognize one of them in that phrase, 'uarios intexens pluma colores.' I do not suppose that these words point to a pied or parti-coloured bird, a sort of popinjay; they rather suggest to me the iridescent hues of a dove, to which the poets often allude in similar phraseology. You have it in Ausonius: 'Iricolor uario pinxit quas pluma colore, | collum columbas aemulas'—a fairly close parallel to our epyllium. You have it in Lucretius, where he describes how the peacock's tail and the dove's neck shift their colours in the sunlight: 'Pluma columbarum quo pacto in sole uidetur | quae sita ceruices circum collumque coronat,' etc. You have the same thing in Seneca (*Q. Nat.* I. 7, 2), and in Cicero's remarkable and far-reaching phrase: 'in columba plures uideri colores, nec esse plus uno.' I did not set out to prove that Ciris was a dove, but you could more easily persuade me that it was so than that it was a *tern*. Moreover, the rock-pigeon, though not a 'sea-bird,' haunts the caves and hollows of the sea-cliffs, and is the prey there of hawk and eagle: ἡ ῥα θ' ἐφ' ἑρῆκος κοίλῃν εἰσέπτ' αὖ πτέρην, χήραμον. When Professor Lindsay quotes, from Dresser, that in Epirus and Acarnania, 'Almost every large breeding-place of sea-fowl is also inhabited by a sea-eagle, preying at pleasure on his weaker neighbours,' the rock-dove is one of the first of those 'weaker neighbours' to come into one's mind. A phrase like Ovid's 'sic aquilam fugiunt penna trepidante columbae' has the changes rung upon it by one poet after another; the dove and the eagle are the stock illustration, the hackneyed parable, of pursuer and pursued.

But there remains that small piece of evidence which seems so crucial to Professor Lindsay's mind—the red legs of the Ciris. True, some of the terns have red legs and so have some of the gulls, but some only. Were the common tern, with its red legs, a bird well known in literature, we might think of it here; but there is no known allusion to it, nor is there any proof that it had any specific appellation. Was Gallus the only poet who knew the tern so well as to introduce it into his poetry?

There are other difficulties. Professor Lindsay says or quotes: 'The common tern (*Sterna hirundo*), with coral-red legs, includes in its wide range Mediterranean shores.' Yet the bird is rare in Italy, according to Dresser, Salvadori, and others; but Giglioli says that it is fairly common in some places, especially in Lombardy and Piedmont. It breeds 'in abbondanza sulle isolette del Po'; in other words, it is not a bird of the sea-cliffs nor of 'every large breeding-place of sea-fowl.' Three terns are comparatively common: the Lesser Tern breeds, like the common tern, on the islands of the Po, but further south is scarce, and seen mostly as a bird of passage; the Sandwich Tern is fairly common in the Adriatic, and nests also in Liguria; the Black Tern is not rare, though local, and is for the most part seen on its spring and autumn migrations. Of these, the Little Tern has feet with a tinge of orange, but in the others, and in all other Italian terns save *st. fluviatilis*, the feet are black. We seem led to the conclusion that, if Gallus were enough of an ornithologist to know a tern when he saw one, he would probably have seen many a tern with black feet for one with red; and if he did see a red-footed tern it would probably be on the Lombard rivers, and not with the sea-eagles on the cliffs of the sea.

But, I know it is known from identity

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Profe he tells us sea-eagle reveller' v at the mo Max Mü baby with as astron heavenly sky a pic never tol Sun and t to me: ' bamboo The East Greek art interpret and myth

It is p of Samso know no Samson's the Sun's be out of very lean history o Professor Ciris wit nach, die untergehe more. I ago, and inclined t in opposi likely th twilight, Sola

But, speaking of red legs, nothing is more familiar than the coral feet of a dove. I cannot think of a quotation apt to the point in Greek or Latin, but the fact is known to everybody. The 'minioque infecta rubenti | crura' are very far indeed from identifying Ciris with a tern.

There is yet another character which the poet attributes to the bird Ciris, and which Professor Lindsay has forgotten to cite—it was a *crested* bird: 'Tum, qua se medium capitis discrimen agebat, | ecce repente, uelut patrios imitatus honores, | *purpuream concussit apex in uertice cristam.*' The terns in full plumage have black heads, but they are by no means 'crested' birds; a 'purple crest' or anything of the sort none of them possess. This 'capitis discrimen' is no sober fact of ornithological observation; it is quite enough to convince me that the poet was playing with his own fancy, and describing a more than half-imaginary bird, no more to be brought under ornithological nomenclature than Phoenix or herald's martlet. As Eugen Siecke says (*De Niso et Scylla in aves mutatis*, Diss., Berlin, 1884): 'Desinamus tandem aliquando ab hominibus rerum naturalium peritis sciscitare quatenam avis sit Ciris; inepte sane qui id diligenter quaerunt,' etc.

Professor Lindsay pours contempt on allegorical interpretation. 'Last century,' he tells us, 'when the Solar Myth was in fashion, we should have been told that the sea-eagle was the sun, the tern the moon'; and in his view it is only 'a Dionysiac reveller' who 'might see the sun swooping—yes, swooping vindictively and repeatedly at the moon.' This ridicule is misplaced. Sun-myths are 'out of fashion' since Max Müller and his school ran them nearly to the death; but it is throwing out the baby with the bath-water (as the Germans say) to assert that there is no such thing as astronomic myth in poetic allegory. The oldest of the sciences studied the heavenly bodies in their courses, and those who figured the constellations made the sky a picture-book for men; it would be strange, indeed, if poet and story-teller never told a tale out of that picture-book, nor wove a fable round the journey of the Sun and the wanderings of the Moon. Years ago, in Japan, a Japanese scholar said to me: 'Don't suppose that when we paint a sparrow and two bamboos we mean a bamboo and two sparrows'; in Eastern art there is always something more behind. The Eastern mind craves for symbolism and talks in riddles; and in this respect Greek art and Oriental art are at one. We may fail to recognize, we may fail to interpret fully, the riddles of Greek myth; but we cannot deny that Greek legends and myths are replete with allegory.

It is plain and obvious that the story of Nisus and Scylla is closely akin to that of Samson and Delilah. Tzetzes (ad *Lyc.* 648) was the first to point this out, and I know no one who has denied it. I for one will not abandon the interpretation of Samson's hair as the Sun's rays, wherein his great strength lay, nor the belief that the Sun's name is written in Hebrew letters in that of the Strong Man. All this may be out of fashion, but I am not left alone in my belief. Professor Otto Keller is a very learned scholar and a cautious one; no living man knows the plain natural history of the ancients as he knows it. But in regard to Haliaetus and Ciris Professor Otto Keller's view is precisely my own. He compares, point by point, the Ciris with the Samson myth: 'Auch Nisus bedeutet, seinem mythischen Inhalte nach, die Sonne, die goldene oder purpurne Haare die goldroten Sonnenstrahlen der untergehenden Abendsonne,' u.s.w. (cf. *Ant. Tierwelt* II., pp. 10-12). I need not quote more. I said just the same thing in my *Glossary of Greek Birds* some thirty years ago, and on this matter I have not changed my mind. On a point of detail I am inclined to modify my opinion. I once believed the scene to represent the full Moon in opposition to the Sun, the one rising as the other sets; now it seems to me more likely that *κείpis* was *luna senescens*, the 'sickle-moon,' a fugitive in the morning twilight, with the sun following close behind.

Solar myths of hawk and eagle are world-wide and innumerable. You have

them in Egypt, in the Hawk of Osiris; you have them in the Vedas; in Siecke's paper there is a pretty full discussion of them. There are many references in Greek literature to the myth of Haliaetus and Ciris, but in none of them do I find evidence to conflict with Otto Keller's interpretation and my own. In Dionysius' *De Avibus* (II. 14) the tale is briefly told of the bird κίρρις, hated of all birds for her crimes: κ' ἂν ἀλκίαιετος αὐτὴν θεάσσηται πλανωμένην, εὐθὺς ἐπιθέμενος διαφθείρει. The book deals for the most part with matter-of-fact ornithology, but here, in this paragraph, there is not the slightest allusion to κίρρις as a real bird. Hyginus (*Fab.* 198) tells how Scylla was turned into the fish κίρρις, and how the sea-eagle 'quando eum piscem conspexerit, mittit se in aquam raptumque unguibus dilaniat.' As natural history it is a very different story; as allegory it is plainly another version of the same thing. The Hesychian glosses are a minor matter, and Professor Lindsay quotes them, but not in full. It is curious, to say the least of it, that in the gloss, Κείρις · ὄρνεον, ἱέραξ· οἱ δὲ ἀλκυνόνα, Hesychius should introduce that most mythical and mystical of birds, the Halcyon; it is not less curious that, s.vv. κίρις, κίρρις, he should define both not only as birds (ὄρνεον, ἱέραξ), but also as λύχνοι, and should identify both of them with Adonis. We are again far outside of the plain prose of ornithology.

Professor Lindsay agrees to the view that the four great lines at the end of the *Ciris* have been incorporated in the *Georgics* (I. 406-409); I said so thirty years ago. But Professor Lindsay also declares that Virgil first wrote them in the *Ciris*, and that it was he who transferred them to the *Georgics*; I venture to doubt. In their place in the *Ciris* these lines are in perfect keeping; they come in their natural sequence without break of sense or change of style. I do not agree with Leo (*Hermes* XXXVII., 1902, p. 47) when he says, 'diese Verse zu dichten war der Verfasser dieses Gedichtes nicht im Stande.' They are very beautiful lines, but there are lines as good in the body of the poem; the poet could have written them who wrote, 'Omnia vincit amor; quid enim non vinceret ille?' Where they stand in the *Georgics*, on the other hand, they are out of place; they change the style and interrupt the sense of the passage. Take the lines immediately before, 'de culmine summo | nec quicquam seros exercet noctua cantus' (403-4), and those immediately after (410 sq.) 'Tum liquidas corui presso ter gutture uoces | aut quater ingeminant,' etc.: they seem to me to run right on as parts of a single phrase. The *Ciris* lines set in between are not only an interpolation, but an inartistic one.

Now, however, I am the cobbler away from his last. I sat down not to dispute with my colleague on points of scholarship, but to refute his identification of a bird.

D'ARCY WENTWORTH THOMPSON.

ST. ANDREWS.

HORA

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## HORACE, ODES I. XII. AND THE *FORUM AUGUSTUM*.

INTERPRETATION of this ode has not been very happy in spite of the care lavished upon it by editors obviously determined to extract some sort of consistent sense. That Horace started from Pindar's *Olymp.* II. is evident enough; when and why, under what stimulus, or for what occasion he wrote is not so clear. The older commentators do not give much help. I believe, however, that in attending to the list of gods, demi-gods, and Roman heroes given in the ode we have a chance of coming somewhere near to an adequate understanding of the poem.

In this list of exalted beings, Juppiter, Pallas, Liber, Diana, and Phoebus represent the gods. They are rather more than less warlike. Pallas is described as *proeliis audax*; Diana is the huntress; Phoebus is the archer. The heroes are Hercules and Castor and Pollux, the two last being a pair hardly separable. The former is called the Mighty Warrior (Alcides); the Twins have attributed to them boxing and horsemanship and tutelary functions in regard to mariners. They are all three connected with Roman history.

Amongst the Roman worthies, Romulus, Numa, Tarquinius Superbus, are representatives of the regal period; Cato (Minor), Regulus, the Scauri, Paulus (of Cannae), Fabricius, Curius, Camillus of the republican age; whilst Marcellus (if Augustus' nephew) and the Julian Star seem to stand for modern or contemporary merit, together with (Augustus) Caesar himself, who is to reign on earth under, and very distinctly under, the tutelary hand of Juppiter.

The Romans are, on the whole, rather unwarlike. Cato, Regulus, the Scauri, Paulus were all victims of war, but were all on the defeated side. Cato, Regulus, the younger Scaurus, Paulus all may be said to have laid down their lives by deliberate choice for some Roman purpose. Fabricius, Curius, and Camillus are notable warriors; but their thrifty habits of a bygone age are in this ode emphasized rather than their soldierly merits. (Of Marcellus one cannot speak in this connexion, so long as it must remain in doubt to which Marcellus reference is made.)

What is Horace's principle of selection? It can perhaps be discerned if Horace may be presumed to have made the selection, not from the complete *album* of gods, heroes, and worthies, but from a particular section (wide but not unlimited)—the portrait galleries of the *Forum Augustum*. Augustus had, before Philippi, vowed a temple to Mars Ultor, and he fulfilled his vow with a completeness and ostentation in keeping with the success which he had met with in avenging Julius Caesar. The result was a magnificent temple and forum distinguished by some of the masterpieces of Hellenic sculpture and painting, formally dedicated not until 2 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Amongst these works of art was, it is conjectured, the statue of Athena Alea;<sup>2</sup> *item* a statue of Apollo;<sup>3</sup> *item* two pictures by Apelles, one of Castor and Pollux with Victory and Alexander the Great, the other of War in Chains with Alexander the Great;<sup>4</sup> two statues which Alexander used to carry with him on his campaigns (subjects unknown?)

<sup>1</sup> But perhaps sufficiently forward to house the standards recovered from Parthia in 20 B.C. (*Mon. Anc.* 5. 40).

<sup>2</sup> Gardthausen, *Augustus u. s. Z.* I. 974, II. 589, referring to Pausanias 8, 46, I. 4 and Overbeck, *G. d. gr. Plastik*, fourth edition, 92 and 420.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* 7. 183: 'eques Romanus ante

Apollinem eboreum, qui est in foro Augusti.'

<sup>4</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* 35. 4. 27; 35. 10. 93-94: 'Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoria et Alexandro in curru triumphante, quas utrasque tabulas diuus Augustus in fori sui celeberrimis partibus dicauerat.'

and a statue of Minerva.<sup>1</sup> In the forecourt of the temple were, to east and west, two galleries containing the worthies of Rome—Alban kings, Roman kings, Roman republicans. Ovid gives the arrangement summarily in *Fasti* V. 563-566:

hinc uidet Aenean oneratum pondere caro  
et tot Iuleae nobilitatis auos:  
hinc uidet Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem,  
claque dispositis acta subesse uiris.

Thus, Mars Ultor could see such people as Aeneas, with father and gods, Valerius Corvus and Scipio Aemilianus, the one with his bird and the other with his *corona obsidionalis* won in Africa. Mars, coming to town for the first time, was made acquainted with men of distinction who had perhaps been somewhat stranger to him outside the walls. Though great warriors predominated in the galleries they were not the only 'lions.' Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator was included with M. Furius Camillus; Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus with C. Duilius, probably without the piper. The dictator Sulla found a place not far from C. Marius. The censor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and L. Aemilius Paulus also were included in a very comprehensive list which is now no longer known in full.<sup>2</sup> Finally, we know that Augustus had a *quadriga* (or more than one) for himself in his forum. He mentions it (or them) in the *Mon. Ancyr.*; and there was a statue, with star on head, of Julius Caesar—very naturally, since it was his murder which Mars avenged.<sup>3</sup>

It is quite possible that Horace, strolling in *celeberrimis partibus* of the growing forum, was inspired by imported masterpieces. He could have found his material there. And more, there is evidence which seems rather strongly to indicate that such was the case in fact. Of Horace's five gods two (with our mutilated record, owing so much to a single author not specially concerned with the *Forum Augustum*) are known to have been represented in the *Forum Augustum* by statues worthy of special record in art catalogues. Of the three demi-gods (really one and a pair) two (i.e. the pair) were in that forum in a notable picture by Apelles. Of the Roman worthies some are known to have been in the galleries, and all, with the possible exception of Cato Minor and a Scaurus, must have been included in a list as long as Augustus made. The most cogent piece of evidence favouring our inference lies in the significant and natural interpretation which we are able to give to *Odes* I. xii. 46-48:

micat inter omnis  
Iulium sidus uelut inter ignis  
luna minores.

The starred statue of Julius Caesar shines amongst—and outshines—the lesser lights of Rome in the *Forum Augustum*; and it is a poet's work to catch the hint given by that star. Further, we see how Horace may have been led to Pindar's *Olymp.* II. from a contemplation of the august *Quadriga* (or *Quadrigae*), and how clearly he saw that it was Augustus' desire to be regarded as not a bad second in the local theocracy.

To fill in the gaps in our evidence Vergil must be brought forward. It is plain enough that he has been again to the *Forum Augustum* (where it was in all probability

<sup>1</sup> So Gardthausen, following Wunderer, *Manibae Alexandrinae*, Schulpr. v. Würzburg, 1893-1894, pp. 27-28. Here, as elsewhere, I have relied upon Gardthausen for such details—a method which has its own advantages, since the theorist is not tempted to reconstruct the old buildings in the interest of his new theories.

<sup>2</sup> I have accepted Gardthausen's facts here

without investigation of the sources quoted, which are not accessible to me. The names may be conjectured, anyhow, with much probability, and are not important enough here for a discussion.

<sup>3</sup> Gardthausen, *Augustus u. s. Zeit.* I. 974-975, II. 589—referring to Babelon, I. 431, No. 81.

that he saw Apelles' picture of War in Chains<sup>1</sup>) in order to compose *Aeneid* VI. 703-892. So closely to the galleries has he stood to work that he has not been able—or has not cared—to obliterate all traces of transference from sculpture to literature. He has, of course, no call to mention the gods of the *Forum Augustum*; neither is he interested in Apelles' Greek heroes. Concerned alone with the great names of Roman history he has arranged his progressive throng in groups substantially corresponding to their arrangement in the galleries of the *Forum Augustum*. As in the galleries, so in the poem it is Augustus (as a Julian and the greatest Julian) who is the link between Alban and Roman history, royal and republican regime; and we get a statuesque description of Silvius: '*pura iuuenis qui nititur hasta*.'

Dealing with Romulus, Vergil writes:

uiden ut geminae stant uertice cristae  
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?—

words which are full of meaning if understood to have been written for the Romulus in front of Mars Ultor. And suddenly after a contemplation of the virtues of Rome's heroic figures Anchises is made to exclaim:

excudent alii spirantia mollius aera  
(credo equidem), uiuos ducent de marmore uoltus.

No doubt the mass production of statues for such a collection as that of the *Forum Augustum* was well calculated to show the difference between Alexander's sculptors and those at the command of Augustus. Vergil, a keen student of painting and sculpture, has left his opinion on Hellenic and Hellenistic art—'*credo equidem*.'

Now, Vergil and Horace have points of contact. The fact that both select for mention, amongst the Roman names, two Caesars, Romulus, Numa, Tarquinius Superbus, Camillus, Fabricius, a Porcius, an Aemilius, an Atilius (Serranus-Regulus) must not be pressed unduly to show contact between Horace and Vergil here; it may be the selection of some at least of these names was inevitable for both poets. But we find Vergil writing (*Aen.* VI. 817-818):

Tarquinius reges animamque superbam,  
ultoris Bruti fascisque . . . superbos.

and Horace, writing:

superbos | Tarquini fasces.

Also, both Vergil and Horace close their list of Roman undeified heroes with a mention of Marcellus.

Granted that Vergil is writing in the shadow of the *Forum Augustum*, the suspicion that Horace also has the galleries in mind must be considerably strengthened, if we find a literary relationship between *Aeneid* VI. and *Odes* I. xii. This splendid *Forum*, vowed in 42 B.C. and finally complete for dedication of Mars' temple in 2 B.C., must have been attracting much attention round about 23 B.C.

We find that Vergil, seeking for conquering kings to compare with Augustus, picks out Hercules and Bacchus, the triumphators of West and East. These he names Alcides and Liber. Did he find these conquerors in the galleries of the *Forum Augustum*? Horace also mentions Liber, side by side with (Diana and) Phoebus, a fine statue of whom was, we know by good fortune and chance, in the

<sup>1</sup> *Aeneid* I. 294-296: '*claudentur Belli portae: Furor impius intus  
saeua sedens super arma et centum uinctus aenis  
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento*.'

*Forum Augustum.* Horace mentions Alcides, too, side by side with Castor and Pollux, whose picture by Apelles was, we know, a feature of the *Forum Augustum*. Thus we are emboldened to conjecture that Liber and Alcides were represented in exotic marble, ivory, or paint in the galleries—perhaps those two bronze statues which used to support Alexander's tent? At least, they seem most appropriate for a world-conqueror to have before his eyes for contemplation and emulation.

If we may go so far, there seems no further reason to resist the conclusion that Horace has made, as Vergil has made in *Aeneid* VI., a selection from the good and bad art of the galleries of the *Forum Augustum* with its temple of Mars Ultor. And, after all, this fact, if fact it may be called, does explain how Horace gets together gods, demi-gods, and Roman heroes for mention and approval.<sup>1</sup> They are not found together in every corner side by side with the Julian star—and, we may perhaps add not unfairly, with an august *quadriga*.

Some such theory is manifestly required. When Horace assigns to Pallas second place in this wide aristocracy he must do so on particular, not on general, grounds, i.e. he must do so with reference to a particular set of circumstances. Where is she second and next to Juppiter? Certainly in versions of the Gigantomachy. But the Gigantomachy will not include the rest of the list, nor explain Horace's 'dubito' in v. 35. The *Forum Augustum* probably fulfils all the necessary conditions.

Vergil's method of selection and arrangement, interesting as it is in itself, does not concern us here save in so far as it throws light on the principle of Horace's selection. Horace has given perhaps the (artistically) finest gods of the galleries, and has given them in their warlike characters, touching less on their more pacific, and to Romans perhaps more characteristic, attributes. Does he thereby point to the temple of Mars Ultor, or at least betray the influences under which he wrote? When he comes to the demi-gods he makes them rather less warlike. Castor and Pollux are not merely the dashing young Spartans, slayers of Lynceus and Idas. But when he comes to the Romans, then his selection is truly remarkable. Vergil takes proud Tarquin and links him with Avenger Brutus. Horace drops out *Ultor Brutus* altogether. For Vergil's *magne Cato* (i.e. Cato the Censor and Triumphator) Horace has *Catonis nobile letum* (i.e. Cato the Pompeian partisan and the defeated). For Vergil's Paulus, conqueror of Achaea, Horace has Paulus of Cannæ, the defeated, as representative of the Atilian gens. Vergil gives us Serranus—whoever he is—apparently one of the good old ploughtail senators; while Horace selects Regulus of African fame, the defeated. For Vergil's Aemilian thunderbolt of war, Scipio Aemilianus, Horace has Scauri—presumably the father and son who acted a tragedy of defeat in the Cimbrian war. It is true that Horace also mentions Curius and Camillus as *utilem bello*; but his chief praise seems to be bestowed on their unshorn locks and frugal habits. All this is somewhat extraordinary, or at the least it requires special explanation in a poem which was, as we presume, inspired by the *Forum Augustum* with its temple of Mars Ultor. But more extraordinary is that which the critical reader will have already long noticed—the total absence of Mars Ultor from the ode. Juppiter Pater reigns, not Mars Ultor. Once the absence is distinctly recognized we have the solution to any puzzle in the ode; we have Horace's meaning.

\* \* \* \* \*

Horace was a short, fat man—one with a certain obstinacy and pugnacity in his composition—and also with a certain sense of decency, well above the average Roman of his time. Such a man, seeing the magnificent temple and forum built so high to

<sup>1</sup> A contemporary reader would have little difficulty in placing the ode—less, if, as I suspect, Horace wrote after Vergil's sixth *Aeneid* had been read to Octavia.

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<sup>1</sup> The sam  
Odes I. 2. ll. 43  
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*ultorem*—and



thank an avenging war-god in return for the mercy of Philippi, will not acquiesce<sup>1</sup> in the *damnatio memoriae* implied for republican anti-Caesarians; will not agree that they all should be accursed by the verdict of Rome's whole history arrayed against them by the sculptors of Greece and Rome.

And when such a man is also a man who fought as an officer at Philippi on the side of Brutus and Cassius and who paid for his political faith, he will even protest against this glorification of Mars Ultor; he will refuse to be told in peperino and marble that he and all his republican fellows are murderous scoundrels, vermin to be extirpated by the common rat-catcher Mars.

This impudent person of servile extraction tells his Emperor that the sword has no weight in the scales of justice. It is out with Mars and in with Jupiter; off with the imperial cloak and on with the judge's gown. For that change of heart and habit is a necessary prelude to the vaunted New Age—the reign of Right.

And what fault precisely has Augustus committed? Merely he has claimed to exercise divine vengeance—nothing more and nothing less. Horace will resist the claim. He arms his gods; for they can be trusted to exercise superhuman powers in wisdom and subordination. He stands up for Cato and the lost causes and for himself. In the last stanza of his ode the energetic protest passes all courtly bounds, as he pounds out in reiteration his displeasure:

‘Thy servant shall he justly guide this earth,  
Thy thunder warn us of the wrath divine;  
And where hearts heedless are and fallen faiths,  
Whose bolt shall blast? ’Tis thine.’

As Horace stands in the *Forum Augustum* before the temple of Mars Ultor and memorial of Philippi, what is his answer to the question he put in the first stanzas? ‘What god shall I praise? What hero? What man?’

The answer is Jupiter, not Mars Ultor; not the battling demi-god like Achilles, but the apostle of civilization, conqueror of wild-beast Cacus Alcides; not the Roman triumphator, but Cato the suicide. This is not modern pacifism, nor is it a lachrymose commiseration with failure. It is a protest against insult, an assertion of human dignity bolder than we have a right to expect. But can the court poet, who is soon to be retained to compose the *Carmen Saeculare*, afford to be so bold? Tax him with the crime of independence: remind him that ‘*quem uirum aut heroea lyra uel acri*’ goes far beyond ‘*quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem*,<sup>2</sup> and he will parry your august rebuke with the greatest ease in the world. For what prevents your reading his ode as a metrical critique on the galleries of the *Forum Augustum* rounded off with a little loyal sentiment? He asks: ‘What is my selection amongst these works of art? What god, what demi-god, what Roman hero of all that galaxy of beauty shall my Muse sing of?’ And he happens to prefer the statue of Jupiter to the statue of Mars. Bad taste it may be; but *de gustibus non disputandum*. His second choice is the Athena Alea—*proximos illi occupauit Pallas honores*.

Here surely his taste is unexceptionable; and he is good company when he elects to sing the praises of ivory Apollo and of Apelles’ Twin Brethren, and, perhaps we may add, of some Greek master’s Liber and Alcides. So it is with the rest. If Horace has a preference for the likeness of this or that Roman hero in the galleries, who is to complain? Amazing man, he has not only parried your rebuke; he is

<sup>1</sup> The same refusal may well be seen in Odes I. 2. 11. 43-44: *paciens uocari Caesaris ultor*. In that ode Horace speaks of another Avenger, who went too far in his vengeance, as ‘flaunting his office’—*Tiberim . . . dum se nimium querenti iactat ultorem*—and as acting ‘without the approval of

Jupiter’—*Ioue non probante*.

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Conway on Horace as Poet Laureate (in *New Studies of a Great Inheritance*. London: John Murray, 1921) points out the almost silent protest of this ode against imperial splendour for its own sake.

earning and deserving court favour by celebrating the imported glories of the *Forum Augustum*. Superficially, that is the import of the ode. For those who care to go below the surface there is a deeper and worthier significance—that which I have tried to indicate first.

It is often a difficult task to entitle a poem, and here I feel that 'The Masterpieces of our New Forum' would be inadequate. I would rather give prominence to the other side; and taking into consideration the sentiments expressed towards Augustus in anticipation of his future rule, I should not scruple overmuch to take the title from the last two lines: 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord; I will repay.' But I am inclined to hesitate until I can be convinced that Horace has not in mind to play a grim and secret jest upon the emperor. For if there was one thing feared especially by Augustus, it was the bolt of Juppiter; and if (as Horace says) that bolt is sent against the impious, Augustus might well tremble even in his sealskin coat, since in the ancient theory of such matters none were so fitly an object of divine displeasure as those who aped divinity and arrogated to themselves divine rights.

D. L. DREW.

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### 'EVIL COMMUNICATIONS.'

OTHERS must have shared my surprise at reading the two articles on this subject in the *Classical Quarterly* (XIX., pp. 22 sqq., 92 sq.), one by Mr. P. H. Ling, writing 'in the light of our present knowledge,' and one by Professor H. J. Rose. Among the Hibeh Papyri (I. 7) is a fragment of an anthology which hereabouts contains quotations from Tragedy and Epicharmus. It gives four verses, the last of which was rightly identified by the editors Grenfell and Hunt. Of the lemma only a spot of ink on a loose fibre remains. When I last saw this papyrus at the Bodleian I seemed to see and guess:

ἐπειτα χρῆσθαι, [τέκνον, εὐλαβοῦ φίλοις  
ὅσοι δοκοῦσιν εἰδέναι νόμων πλέον,  
εἰδὼς ὁθούνεκ' αἶ. . . .  
φθείρουσιν ἥθ[. . . . .]

My reading in line 2 differs slightly from that of the editors. It will be seen (a) that φθ. ἥθ. χ. δ. κ. is not strictly a monostich, since the sentence begins after ὁθούνεκα. (b) That the verses are written by a tragedian, presumably Euripides, who uses οἶδα ὁθούνεκα, the latter word being unknown to Attic comedy (see Headlam on Herodas V. 20). Verses included in such anthologies (or in the anthology which preceded Stobaeus: see my *First Greek Anthologist*, Cambridge, 1923) might well be in everyone's mouths from infancy, and would imply no research on the part of the writer quoting them. I find it hard, therefore, to concur in Mr. Ling's theory that possibly 'the line we are considering was the first line of the play': βραχὺς μὲν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν.

A. D. KNOX.

I am obliged to Mr. Knox for calling attention to the Hibeh papyrus fragment, which I am afraid had escaped my notice.

If the lines quoted form the original passage in Euripides, the contention of my paper is of course negated; but, in my opinion, there is a good deal to be said for the view that, like those found earlier in the papyrus, which now appear in our MSS. of the *Electra*, they are really drawn from more than one source.

P. H. LING.

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<sup>3</sup> Geschichte  
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<sup>4</sup> Hicks and

## THE ALLEGED ACHAEAN ARBITRATION AFTER LEUCTRA.

Polybius II. 39. 9: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μόνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀχαιοῖς, οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν ἀποβλέψαντες, σκέδον γὰρ ἐλαχίστην τότε γετῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶχον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον, εἰς τὴν πίστιν καὶ τὴν δλὴν καλοκαγαθίαν.

Strabo VIII. 7. 1 (p. 384): μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχην, ἐπέτρεψαν Θηβαῖοι τοῦτοις (sc. τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς) τὴν δίκαιαν περὶ τῶν ἀντιλεγόμενων ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

These statements have been treated with scant respect by modern scholars. One recent writer, A. Raeder,<sup>1</sup> has accepted them. But Grote<sup>2</sup> and von Stern<sup>3</sup> have disputed them, and the rest have simply ignored them.

Grote's arguments are as follows:

1. The winners of Leuctra were too exuberantly confident to sue before a court.
2. The losers still had their sense of dignity: Spartans die, but do not arbitrate.
3. The Achaeans were held in too slight esteem to be chosen as arbitrators.

Two further points are made by von Stern:

4. The Achaeans remained loyal to Sparta after Leuctra, and thus disqualified themselves as a court of reference.

5. The story of Polybius and Strabo owes its origin to some patriotic Achaean forger, who caught these two writers napping.

To this list of objections we may add that—

6. Neither Xenophon nor Diodorus mentions the incident.

It is certain that the Achaeans did not stop Sparta and Thebes from fighting. Therefore either their award was repudiated or it was never made. But this does not prove that the dispute was never submitted to them. We must therefore examine the case in detail.

1. The silence of Xenophon and Diodorus is not a negative but a blank. Xenophon's account of the events after Leuctra is notoriously incomplete, and it omits such a relatively important move as the peace effort of Dionysius in 369-8 B.C.<sup>4</sup> As for Diodorus, he compresses the entire diplomatic history of 370-362 B.C. into seventy-eight words.<sup>5</sup> No conclusions can therefore be drawn from what these authors did not say.

2. Given an Achaean falsifier, it is hardly likely that he should have fabricated such an inglorious incident as an arbitration which ended in a fiasco. Neither is it probable that such a fiction should have deceived Polybius, who was on his guard against mere propaganda and could readily have looked up the point in Ephorus. Indeed, since Polybius accepted Ephorus as a standard authority, we may just as readily assume that Polybius' statement was derived from no other source. Should that be so, Polybius' story has excellent credentials, for Ephorus was a contemporary of the events in question and described them at length.<sup>6</sup> In any case, there is no reason to believe that Polybius blindly followed a fraudulent guide.

3. In the first twelvemonth after Leuctra Theban policy showed little sign of

<sup>1</sup> *L'arbitrage international chez les Hellènes*, p. 523.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Greece*, VIII., p. 189 n. (1888 edition).

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der spartanischen und thebanischen Hegemonie*, p. 154-5.

<sup>4</sup> Hicks and Hill, 108, lines 18-26.

<sup>5</sup> XV. 76. 4 and 89. 2.

<sup>6</sup> E. Schwartz reckons that for the period in question he devoted one book to every two years (*Hermes*, 1909, p. 458). Presumably Ephorus was also the source of Strabo, who made great use of this author.

exuberant confidence, and, indeed, had little reason for such. As a set-off against their victory, the Thebans had met with undisguised ill-will at Athens,<sup>1</sup> and in Jason of Pherae they had found a rival whose mere presence prevented them from following up their success. Hence, just as in 378 B.C. they had first expelled the Spartans from Thebes and then sued for peace,<sup>2</sup> so after the triumph of Leuctra they tamely agreed to an armistice.<sup>3</sup> The Thebans evidently took Leuctra more soberly than Grote gives them credit for, and it is rash to assert that they were in no mood to negotiate.

4. After Leuctra the Spartans 'allowed their laws to sleep.' They enfranchised helots wholesale,<sup>4</sup> and exempted the survivors of the battle from disfranchisement.<sup>5</sup> Compared with this, recourse to arbitration was a minor indignity. It may even be suggested that a court of arbitration might have been the means of saving Sparta's face after her defeat. At Leuctra the point at issue between her and Thebes—the status of the lesser Boeotian towns—had been settled irrevocably. The Spartans therefore stood to gain in dignity by gracefully conceding in court what they already had lost in the field.

5. Grote's objection to the Achaeans has already been answered by Polybius, who points out that equity, not power, is the chief desideratum in an arbitrator. This rule, moreover, stands in accord with the general practice of the Greeks: 'high principle and friendly feeling were required in the arbitrating state, even more than power and wealth.'<sup>6</sup>

6. The alacrity with which the Achaeans supported Sparta after Leuctra was short-lived. During the critical campaign of 370-369 B.C. they gave Sparta no help, and in the early sixties they remained consistently neutral. Unlike other subjects of Sparta, the Achaeans had no imperial ambitions; therefore they were peculiarly well qualified to play the part of honest brokers.

On what precise occasion could Sparta and Thebes have invoked the Achaeans? The most suitable moment would seem to be soon after the conclusion of the alliance between Athens and the minor Peloponnesian states (autumn 371 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> By this alliance the Peloponnesians were seduced from their traditional dependence upon Sparta,<sup>8</sup> who thus received a smart back-hander from Athens. Conversely, the Thebans suffered an affront by the terms of the alliance, which imposed upon Greece the *status quo ante bellum* and thus were calculated to rob Thebes of the fruits of her victory. But the door remained open for negotiations between Thebes and Sparta until Thebes prepared for an invasion of Peloponnesus, and this did not happen until summer or autumn 370 B.C.<sup>9</sup> The Achaean arbitration might therefore be dated at almost any point in the twelvemonth after Leuctra.

Why did the negotiations fail? Possibly because the Achaeans had joined the Athenian league and were no longer free to act as referees; or because Agesilaus subsequently rallied anti-Theban sentiment at Sparta; or because the Thebans eventually grew interested in Peloponnesian politics and changed their peace objects. But this is mere conjecture, and beside the point.

CONCLUSION.—There is no adequate reason for disbelieving Polybius and Strabo. Their story fits into its context, and may be accepted as true.

M. CARY.

<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica* VI. 4, 19-20.

<sup>2</sup> Isocrates, *Plataicus* § 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Hellenica* VI. 4, 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* VI. 5, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Agesilaus* ch. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Tod, *International Arbitration amongst the Greeks*, p. 96-97.

<sup>7</sup> *Hellenica* VI. 5, 1-3.

<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately Xenophon does not enumerate the signatories. But from the context it is clear that Sparta was excluded (see Swoboda, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1894, pp. 321 sqq.).

<sup>9</sup> *Hellenica* VI. 5, 19 sqq.

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## THE TEXT OF THE EPISTLES OF THEMISTOCLES.

THE succeeding pages were destined, had matters gone otherwise, to form one section of a chapter devoted to the text of those deservedly neglected authors whom, after a mortal illness released Anton Westermann from the task, Rudolf Hercher marshalled between the two covers of the Didot *Epistolographi*. That chapter, in its turn, was to have been the last in a volume of *Adversaria*, and, if the truth is to be told, perhaps not the least important function of some of my proposals was to supply a colourable pretext for dealing with passages of other writers (especially Clement of Alexandria and Libanius) whom I had not treated in the body of the book. So much in excuse of the content and form of this paper. That here and there I may have been anticipated is possible enough, for the delectable years are fled when the solitary student could say with Isocrates and be comforted: *Περὶ μὲν τῶν δόξαν ἐχόντων σπάνιον εὐρεῖν ὁ μηδεὶς πρότερον εἶρηκε, περὶ δὲ τῶν φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν ὅτι ἂν τύχη τις φθεγγάμενος ἰδίῳν ἐστίν*. Still, though I have experimented freely on the vile material, I have done my best, with the resources and time<sup>1</sup> at my command, to avoid repetitions and inaccuracies; and I hope that, when the needful deductions have been made, there will remain enough to be of some service to the text of these inane and corrupt effusions.

The transmission through the ages of the twenty-one epistles of Themistocles is one of the ambiguous benefits conferred on Greek literature by the famous *Palatinus* 398,<sup>2</sup> round which Bast's *Lettre Critique* to Boissonade revolves. Whatever may have been the earlier vicissitudes of the tradition, its last state is pitiable; and although Hercher, who had the use of Westermann's unpublished notes, naturally did much to improve it,<sup>3</sup> the text may still hold its own with the worst in existence. Whether it can ever be made entirely presentable seems dubious. The depravation is too multiform. At one end of the scale are transparent uncial corruptions, reproduced with slavish and exemplary fidelity; at the other is the patchwork of a corrector whose activities must often have quenched the last glimmer of truth. Between are all the vagaries of the incompetent or careless copyist, and, superadded, the lumbering, contorted diction of a writer who may have been what he will, but can no more than the Pseudo-Phalaris have been Greek. Finally, many passages must remain in doubt simply because the bulk of the Epistles is fortunately too small to admit of the author's usage in a given case being established with reasonable certainty. Of the following conjectures a large number, it is perhaps superfluous to say, are purely tentative: others I have omitted altogether.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quis enim est, qui, nisi ad hoc ipsum natus sit, Phalarideis, ut his utar, per omne anni tempus se adplicet uel Dionysii Antiocheni futilibus commenticiisque sententiis immoriatur?' So Hercher (*Præf.* IX.); and the apology, though called for, was adequate.

<sup>2</sup> Collated after Westermann (for the *Epistles*) by Hercher himself, whom I follow; Bast's collation seems not to have been published. Of the two editions previous to Hercher—the *princeps* (Rome, 1628, by Caryophilus, Archbishop of Iconium) and that of Habich—I have been able to consult neither. The first, it is more than

clear from Hercher's apparatus, has long been negligible, the latter always.

<sup>3</sup> He credits himself in his preface with the salvation of Themistocles; but, in point of fact, the percentage of frivolous or hasty conjectures is heavier, and the certain or plausible emendations of a less arresting character, than is the case in most of his other work—e.g. on Aelian, the Novelists, and Plutarch. Indeed, his whole volume is in the main a poor monument to a scholar who, with all his failings, had in him the rudiments of greatness.

Ep. 1 (741, 16 sqq.<sup>1</sup>). The ostracized Themistocles, about to leave for Delphi, meets three Argive admirers, who remind him of the family connexion with Argos:

τελευτώντες δὲ ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς κατακρίνεσθαι τῆς ἐντυχίας μόνον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀξίους γεγονέναι, μηδὲ ὑβρίσαι αὐτῶν τὸ εὐτύχημα τῆς ἀπαντήσεως, Νεοκλῆα τε πάλιν προφέροντες καὶ ὡς ἀξίον εἶη πόλει τε τῇ αὐτῇ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ οἴκῳ ἐνὶ <ἐμ>βιῶναι.

ἀξίους\*:<sup>1</sup> αἰτίους P <alatinus> || ἐνὶ <ἐμ>βιῶναι\*: ἐνὶ βιῶναι P, ἐμβιῶναι Car <yophilus>, H <erche>r.

'They hoped his verdict would be that they had a title to be honoured by more than a casual meeting.' The tradition is meaningless, though Bentley, when discussing the letter,<sup>2</sup> and Hercher is content to reprint the old Latin version: 'Postremo precabantur, ne se tanquam accusationis meae auctores solum criminaret . . .' The proximity, however, of ἐντυχίας to ἀπαντήσεως (Polyb. *ap.* Ath. 440F ἀδήλου τῆς ἐντυχίας οὐσης τίσιν ἀπαντήσῃ), the patent allusion to the opening of the epistle (καθ' ὁδὸν δὲ . . . ἐντυγχάνουσι N. καὶ M.), and indeed the whole context, show, if it were needful to be shown, that τῆς ἐντυχίας τῆς ἡμετέρας bears its natural sense (Jul. *ep.* 69 = 29 Bidez-Cumont εἰ δέ σοι σχολή . . . διαβῆναι, τιμησαίμην ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγου τὴν σὴν ἐντυχίαν).

The interchange of ἀξίος and αἷτιος is in the common course of nature (see, for instance, Cobet, *N.L.* 80), and may have played a secondary part in a passage of more interest:

Eur. *Hel.* 1593 sqq. καὶ τις τόδ' εἶπε · δόλιος ἢ ναυκληρία ·  
πάλιν πλέωμεν ἀξίαν κέλευε σύ,  
σὺ δὲ στρέφ' οἶακα.

'Crux criticorum,' says Herwerden. 'Coniecta sunt ἀξίον, ἀξιώ, ἀκτίαν (Dindorf = ἀκτὴν scil.), δεξιάν, paullo saltem melius ἀντίαν (Badham)<sup>3</sup> . . . Ipse olim cogitavi de corrigendo ναυβάται, apte sed uiolentius, quod idem ualet de Paleyi coniectura τί νῦν πλέωμεν Ναυπλίαν; cui praeterea obstat quod πάλιν πλέωμεν uerum esse clamat fere contextus.' The trouble, however, is that the context cries equally that whatever word lurks in ἀξίαν must go with the first part of the verse: for κέλευε σύ, σὺ δὲ στρέφ' οἶακα is plainly meant to be no more than the resolution into its component parts of σὺ μὲν κλειστοῦ γένου, σὺ δὲ οἰακοστρόφος. But suppose the line to have passed through the mediate form:

πάλιν πλέωμεν αἷτίαν κέλευε σύ κτέ.

More than probably the next copyist would have written πάλιν πλέωμεν: less than impossibly he might have taken αἷτίαν for ἀξίαν. Yet from those materials the most inglorious Porson may restore:

πάλιν · <τί> πλέωμεν 'Απίαν; κέλευε σύ κτέ.

Ep. 2 (741, 38 sqq.). The Argives press Themistocles to accept a dictatorship . . . 'Εγὼ δὲ καὶ ἀτιμάζω αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν αἰδοῦμαι καὶ ἐτι μᾶλλον λαβεῖν ἂ διδόασιν οὐχ ὑπομένω (ἦ γὰρ ἂν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγὼ διώκων εἰκότως ἂν καὶ ἐξωστρακίσθαι δοκοῖν), καταγνώσεώς τε ἐγγύς, οἶμαι, μετασταθέντα με ὑπὸ 'Αθηναίων ὡς ἄρχην ὀρεγόμενον ἐξ 'Αργους φεύγειν ὅτι ἄρχην ἀναγκάζομαι.

ὑπομένω (ἦ γὰρ . . . δοκοῖν), καταγνώσεώς τε ἐγγύς, οἶμαι, μετασταθέντα\*: ὑπομένω ·  
ἦ γὰρ . . . δοκοῖν. καταγνώσεώς τε ἐγγύς εἶναι μετασταθέντα PHr.

<sup>1</sup> The references are to the page and line of Hercher: the asterisks indicate my own proposals.

<sup>2</sup> *Dissertation upon the Epistles of Themistocles*, III.

<sup>3</sup> Wecklein extends the melancholy list with ἐστίαν, νεανίαι, νόστιμον, θάσσον οὐν, and worse. Murray adopts δεξιάν, which might have been considered if the word had been Greek for 'to the right.'

In the above καταγνώσεως ἐγγύς (ἐστί) becomes the equivalent of an impersonal σχεδόν τι κατέγνωσται. But though the change is light and the phrasing in the author's manner, the suggestion is naturally a makeshift and no more.

Ep. 3 (742, 30 sqq.). Φεύγομεν, ὥσπερ ἐγκελεύη, κατὰ τάχος, ὃ Πολύγνωτε, καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐξ Ἄργους ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐσμέν, ὃ τε πλοῦς ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ἡμῖν τίταται, καὶ νεαλῇ ἔχοντες τὰ ΠΑΟΙΑ <ἐπὶ μὲν Κυλλήνην ἐύτυχῶς κατεληλύθαμεν, νῦν δὲ ΑΠΑΟΙΑ> κατεχόμεθα.

< >\*: τὰ πλοῖα κατεχόμεθα P, τὰ πλοῖα ἀπερχόμεθα Hr.

See 757, 3 sqq. ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν . . ., ὃ τε πλοῦς εὐπετὴς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο καὶ πολὺ ἀφέειλεν οὐ ἐπὶ Κυλλήνῃ κατεσχέθημεν χρόνου; 758, 18 sqq. κατήλθον ἐπὶ Κυλλήνην . . . ἐκεῖθι δὲ ἐκινδυνεύσαμεν ὑπὸ χεიმῶνος ἀναμείναι τοὺς διώκοντας ἡμᾶς· πλεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν ὠρμημένοι . . . τρεῖς ὅλας κατεχόμεθ' ἡμέρας; 759, 42, πλείοντας δ' οὐκίθ' ἡμᾶς εὐπλοῖα ἦγεν.—The passage, in fact, falls into the class (which I hope to discuss elsewhere) where the folly of arranging homoeoteleuta tends almost to be venial. Here I append only a few nondescript examples. Unless it is otherwise stated, the tradition is unchanged but for my bracketed supplements.

Clem. Alex. *Protr.*, § 33 fin. Φάωνα ἐλόχα καὶ ἦρα Ἀδώνιδος, ἐφιλονέικει δὲ τῇ βοῶντι <καὶ τῇ γλαυκῶπιδι>, καὶ ἀποδυσάμεναι διὰ μῆλον αἱ θεαὶ γυμναὶ προσείχον τῷ ποιμένι, ἥτις (P<sup>3</sup>, with his usual good sense: εἴ τις P, edd.) δόξει καλῇ.

Ib. § 95. ἐχρῆν μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὃ ἄνθρωποι, αὐτοῦ περὶ ἐννοουμένους τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐμφυτον ἐπάγεσθαι μάρτυρα ἀξιοχρεῶν, πίστιν . . . περιφανῶς αἰρουμένην τὸ βέλτιστον, μηδὲ ζητεῖν εἰ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΩΚΤΕΟΝ <ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἐγνωκότας ὅτι ΜΕΤΑΔΙΩΚΤΕΟΝ> ἔκπονεῖν.—μεταδιωκτέον, <τὸ δ' ἀγαθόν> ἔκπονεῖν Ed. Schwartz, Stählin; <ἀλλ' > ἔκπονεῖν Heyse; [ζητεῖν] Mayor, Butterworth.

*Paed.* III., § 34. μακάριος οὗτος ὄντως, ΕΑΝ ΤΕ <μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ἐνδοξός, ΕΑΝ ΤΕ> μικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἄδοξος ᾗ. See Plat. *Legg.* 660e, εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, εἴν τε μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς εἴν τε μικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ᾗ.

*Quis dñus*, § 24 fin. ἂν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἀπόληται ὑπὲρ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, <ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται ὁ πρὸ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ>.—<ἐκεῖ σωθήσεται> alone Segaar, Stählin, Butterworth. For the antithesis of the prepositions, cf. *v.c.*, § 41, μηδὲν ὑπὸ σοῦ λυπούμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ.

*Strom.* VII., § 31. οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιεν καὶ τοὺς μαγείρους θεοποιούντες . . . καὶ τὸν ἱππὸν αὐτὸν προσκυνοῦντες <καὶ τὴν ἐσχάραν στεφανοῦντες>, προσεχέστεραν γινομένην τῇ κνίσῃ τῇ πολυτιμῇ.—Stählin adopts Wilamowitz's incredible προσεχέστερον γινόμενον: Mayor wrote inadequately προσεχέστεραν <ἐσχάραν>.

Ib., § 72 ca. fin. εὐχόμεθα δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα, οὐχ ὡς ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΤΩΣ <ληψόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὡς ΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΤΟΣ> τοῦ αἰτεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα παρὰ σοῦ.—οὐχ ὡς καθήκοντος τοῦ αἰτεῖν κτέ. Sylburg, vulg., evidently against the sense; τὰ συμφέροντα, οὐ <τὰ ἡδέα>, ὡς καθήκοντος τοῦ αἰτεῖν κτέ Stählin. Indeed, fifty examples of much the same degree of probability might be collected from Clement.

Liban. *Inu. in Aesch.*, § 60. ὁ γὰρ ἐπισχεῖν μὴ κωλύσας ΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΕΝ <ὁ δ' ΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΕΝ> δέδρακεν.—<ἐν οἷς><sup>1</sup> ἐπέτρεψε δέδρακεν Reiske, Foerster.

<sup>1</sup> This insertion might be made with some speciousness in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I., § 19 fin.: ἡ πολυμαθία διασυστατικὴ τυγχάνει τοῦ παρατιθεμένου τὰ κυριώτατα τῶν δογμάτων πρὸς πειθὺ τῶν ἀκροωμένων, θαυμασμὸν ἐγγενέστα τοῖς κατηχου-

μενοις (= ἐν τῷ . . . συνίσταται. For the idiom in Clement see Mayor, *Strom.* VII., pp. 263, 289-90). Stählin prints, after Wilamowitz, <καὶ> θαυμασμὸν . . . [καὶ] πρὸς κτέ.

*Demosth. arol.*, § 18 init. καίτοι Σόλων . . . οὐκ ἐπάναγκες τοῦτό γε ὥσπερ τὰ ΑΛΛΑ <ἐποίησεν, ΑΛΛΑ> λειτουργεῖν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευομένους ὀφείλιν ὑπελάμβανεν—ἐκείνα μὲν ἐκάστῳ προεῖρηκε ποιεῖν, τὸ λέγειν δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ κατέλιπεν.—λειτουργεῖν [μὲν] Foerster; then ὀφείλιν, ὑπελάμβανεν. ἐκείνα μὲν γὰρ κτέ. (an interpolation drawn from HV). Reiske, too great a man to be a tidy one, inserted ἐποίησεν after τοῦτο γε, and οἷον before λειτουργεῖν.

Ps.-Lysias VIII. fin. κερδανῶ δὲ τοσούτον ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ΥΜΩΝ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΓ- <ήσομαι, ἔπειτα δ' ΥΜΩΝ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΓ> εἰς ἐλάχιστα κακῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν πείσομαι.—πρῶτον μὲν] πρῶτιστος Reiske, πρῶτος Kirchner, πρῶτος νῦν Thalheim.

Σ Aesch. *Eum.* 94. ὁ μὲν Ὀρέστης φυγῇ οἴχεται Ἀθήναζε πυθόμενος [κριθσόμενος Weil: leg. *πειθόμενος*], αἱ δὲ Ἐρινύες μόναι καθεύδουσιν ΥΠΟ ΠΟΝΟΥ [*ῖσως καὶ*] <διεγειρόμεναι δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ἀπάτην τινὰ ΥΠΟΝΟΟΥσιν> Ἀπόλλωνος, τοῦ τραγωδοποιῶν <*ῖσως καὶ*> τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύσαντος, ἵνα διὰ τούτου ἐμφαίνῃ [Vict. for ἐμφανῇ] τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν καὶ χαλεπόν. πῶς δὲ διεγείρονται; οὐχ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος κτέ.

Plut. *Bruta ratione uti* 987E init. τὴν τῆς δειλίας ἐπώνυμον εὐκόλῳ <κατα- δούλῳ> ἐν ἀσπαζόμενος [*ἐνασπαζόμενος libri*].—ἐπώνυμον <δουλείαν> Xyl.

Julian 27C,D. ἀσπίδες μὲν ἐπενήχοντο βαρβάρων παμπληθεῖς καὶ νεῶν ἄρμενα [\* : ἔρματα libri, σέλματα Reiske], συντριβομένων ἐπ' αὐταῖς ΤΩΝ <ΙΣΤΩΝ> μηχανημάτων <δὲ καὶ> βελῶν πλῆθος ἐπινυχόμενον μικροῦ δαίν ἐπέειχεν ἅπαν τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῶν χωμάτων.<sup>1</sup>—The weak spot is the need of interpolating δὲ καί: yet there is the solitary μὲν to testify that somewhere or other a δέ has perished.

Appian, *Hann.*, § 44 init. ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις, οἱ μέρος εἰς τὴν ΙΤΑΛΙΑΣ <ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΣ>.—πéρας Mendelssohn, τέλος Nipperdey, μέρος <ἔσχατον> or τῆς <παλαιότητος> Ἰταλίας or τῆς <πάλαι μόνης καλουμένης> Ἰταλίας Schweigh.

Longus, *Past.* IV. 18. Οἰχόμεθα, εἶπεν, ὦ γύναι. ἤκει καιρὸς ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ κρυπτά, <ΕΡΗΜΟΙ μὲν διαζόμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ>, ΕΡΗΜΟΙ δὲ αἱ αἴγες καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα· ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν Πάνα . . . τὴν Δάφνιδος τύχην . . . οὐ σιωπήσομαι.—ἔρρει μοι Δάφνις καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα Cobet, Hirschig; ἔρρει μοι καὶ τὸ αἰπόλιον καὶ τὰ λ. π. Edmonds—who describes δὲ αἱ αἴγες as 'a correction following the corruption.' A prosaic nature, however, would have saved much ink by converting the ι of ἔρρμι into a ν.

Ach. Tat. IV. 18. Clitopho gives his verdict on the water of Nile: γλυκὺ δὲ πινόμενον ἦν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἐν μέτρῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς· οἶδα γὰρ ἐνίοις τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι ποταμῶν καὶ τιτρώσκοντας. τούτῳ συνέκρινον αὐτοὺς Τῷ ΠΟΤΑΜῳ <καὶ πάντας ὑπερεβάλλετο Τῷ ΠΟΤΙΜῳ>. διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἄκρατον ὁ Αἰγύπτιος πίνων οὐ φοβεῖται, Διονίσσου μὴ δέόμενος.—I return, however, to Themistocles.

Ep. 3, contd. (742, 33 sqq.). τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄγγελον τῆς σπουδῆς καὶ σὺ ἐπαινέσεις . . . δέος δέ ἐστι μὴ ἀνωφελὴ ὑμῶν τὴν σπουδὴν ἐπιμένων ὁ χερσὶν ποιήσῃ [ἦ] καὶ βραδύτεροι τῶν ἀγγέλων οἱ φεύγοντες γενόμεθα.

ὑμῶν\* : ἡμῶν P || [\*].

So, in reality, the sense demands, and the changes are nothing: for when the scribe of the Palatinus was confronted by *i*-sounds, then, as at Themistocles' destination, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἔτι περαιτέρω. The omitted portion of the sentence is hardly corrigible.

<sup>1</sup> He goes on a little later : πῦρ μὲν ἐνίετο ταῖς ἀσπίσιν, ἐξέπικτον δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἡμίκαντοι πολλοί. For ΑCIIIIΩ, which has always seemed to me remarkably foolish in the context, I propose

ΔΕΡΡΙΩ (or ΔΕΡΡΕΩ : but the compound δερριδό- γομφος appears to guarantee the other form.) See Wesseling on D. Sic., t. II., p. 412.

45 sq  
καταληφθ

Wes  
ἐχθροῦ ide  
mines wh

Ep. 4  
remedies  
μὲν τοῦτ'  
κισμοῦ  
9 [τὸ] κ  
σε <κα  
sim.>\*

744  
χαλκοῖς δ

[ ] M  
ἀπ

The  
Scott.

Ib.

Ib.  
δυνατόν,  
τελείως ἐ

τά τ  
||

Ib.  
καὶ βοηθ  
καίριος τ  
σκοποῦμ  
περισώσ  
<δὲ>  
ἀμελητέ  
δὲ γυνή,  
ἀπο

Fo  
(XXIX.  
well be  
with').  
certain,  
emends  
εἶχεν, ὦ  
ὁ Ἀθην  
fortasse,  
edged t

1 H



45 sqq. ἀλλά σε ἀγάμεθα . . . τοῦ διαγορεύσαι μὴ φεύγοντας ἡμᾶς ὑπ' αἰσχροῦ καταληφθῆσεσθαι καὶ διεγνωσμένου ἤδη θανάτου.

αἰσχροῦ\* : ἐχθροῦ P.

Westermann tried ὡς διεγνωσμένου: but neither is the particle wanted nor is ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ identical with *ab hoste*; while, in such a tradition as this, chance alone determines whether αἰσχρός or ἐχθρός is passed on to the after-world.

**Ep. 4 (743).** Since the many uncertainties on this page are as trivial as my own remedies, I merely record: 2 sq. τοῦτον μὲν αὐτὸδ\*: τοῦτο μὲν τοῦτ' P, αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ' Hr, 7 ὁρᾶς γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὅσον\*: ὁρᾶς γὰρ ὅσον ἐφ' ἡμῶν P, 8 ὁστρακισμοὺς <ἐξ ὁστρακισμῶν> ἡμῶν (*verbi causa*)\*: ὁστρακισμένους ἡμᾶς P, 9 [τὸ] καὶ νῦν τοῦτό γε\*: τὸ καὶ νῦν γε τοῦτο P, 26 <οἱ> ἄλλοι\*, 33 εὐλαβεῖσθαι σε <καλόν> or <κάλλιον>\*, 34 ὅτε\*: ὅτι P, 48 δεδιέναι <μέμνησο uel sim.>\*: δεδιέναι P, δέδιθι Hr.

744, 5 sqq. παλαμαῖον ἢ ἀλιτήριον [τι] προστρίψαι τῇ πόλει οὐκ ἀκεστὸν οὐδὲ χαλκοῖς ἀνδριάσιν ἀποδιοπομπήσιμον τῇ πόλει.

[ ] Maurice Haupt || ἀκεστὸν West<ermann>: ἀρεστὸν P || ἀποδιοπομπήσιμον\*: ἀποδιοπομπήσει μὲν P, ἀποδιοπομπήσμενον Hr.

The adjective appears to have a reasonable claim upon the new Liddell and Scott.

*Ib.* 17 sqq. εἰ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων . . . ἀναφαινομένην κεκολασμένους.

ἀναφ.\*: ἀν φ. P, [ἀν] φ. Hr.

*Ib.* 19 sqq. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἵνα μὴδὲν γένηται ἐγὼ προμηθήσομαι, ὥσπερ ἔφην, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν, καὶ τὰ τε νῦν ὥς ἐνὶ ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ ἐξευλαβήμεθα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὰν τελείως ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται πύσις περὶ πάντων.

τὰ τε νῦν\*: τάδε νῦν P, τὰ δεινὰ Hr || ἐνὶ?\*: ἐν || ἐξευλαβήμεθα] ἐξευλαβησόμεθα Hr || ἐπειδὰν Hr: ἔπειτ' ἀν P.

*Ib.* 24 sqq. τὰ δὲ αὐτόθι ἀντιβολουμέν σε καὶ ἱκετεύομεν . . . καὶ συλλαμβάνειν . . . καὶ βοθεῖν ἡμῖν ἀντικρυς, τὰ μὲν χρήματα μὴ φυλάττοντα ἐμοὶ μὴδὲ τοῖς ἐμοῖς παῖσιν, ἀλλὰ καίριως ταῦτα καὶ δεξιῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἀπολλύοντα, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο σκοπούμενον ὁσημέραι ὅπως τὸν Κλεόφαντον ἡμῖν καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα περισώσεις· ὑπείσοι δέ σοι<sup>1</sup> ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους εὐνοία δι' ἡμᾶς, [ἴσως] ἢ Σύβαρις <δὲ> καὶ διὰ Λυσικλέα [δὲ] τὸν νιόν σου σοὶ τε αὐτῷ στερκτέα καὶ ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἀμελητέα, εἰ μὲν ἀξιοθρόμεθα κηδεσθαι ὑμῶν γενέσθαι, ὅτι σοὶ μὲν <ν> υἱός ἐστιν ἐκείνῳ δὲ γυνή, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐμέλλησέ τε καὶ ἡλπίσθη ποτέ.

ἀπολλύοντα] ἀναλύντα Hr || τοὺς ἄλλους] αὐτοὺς Hr || δι' ἡμᾶς, ἢ Σύβαρις δὲ καὶ διὰ Λυσικλέα\*: δι' ἡμᾶς ἴσως ἢ σὺ θαρρεῖς καὶ διὰ Λυσικλέα δὲ P || νυός\*: νιός P.

For ἀπολλύοντα I have no better advocate to call than the translator of Ben-Sira (XXIX. 13 ἀπόλεσον ἀργύριον διὰ φίλον), and Hercher's straightforward ἀναλύντα may well be true, though an artificial alternative is τούτων . . . ἀπολαύοντα ('making free with').—In what follows, my corrections appear to meet the case. Since νυός is certain, it follows that a daughter of Themistocles has been named, and ἡ σὺ θαρρεῖς emends itself from Plut. *Them.* XXII. (not the author's source): θυγατέρας δὲ πλείους εἶχει, ὃν Μνηστιπτολέμαν μὲν . . . Ἀρχέπολις . . . ἐγγημεν, . . . Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. With some excess of caution I have cancelled ἴσως as a fellow-worker's *fortasse*, and the insertion, excision, or trajection of δέ is one of the most favoured edged tools of the critically disposed copyist.

<sup>1</sup> He has the accusative at 748, 49, ὑπείσοι ὑμᾶς θάμβος, but the dative is legitimate enough.

Another passage in which a proper name has undeniably come to shipwreck may as well be emended here as elsewhere :

Liban. *Demosthenis deditionis petitio* § 30. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων ἀξιώσει με περιελθόντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα παλινφθίαν ἄσαι ὅτι Φίλιππος εὐσεβής, πιστός, δίκαιος, Ἑλληνικώτατος καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ πολλὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλάττων.

Foerster prints οὐδὲν ἢ <οὐ> πολλά, as conjectured worthily by P<sup>2</sup> and Morel, and most unworthily by Jacobs, who might have been expected to write *currente calamo* : καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ Πέλλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλάττων.

To redress the balance, I transcribe from Longus *Past.* III. 12 :

*They gathered flowers as garlands for the gods.* ἡ μὲν Χλόη καὶ ἀπὸ αἰγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ οἶων τινῶν γάλα νέον καὶ τοῦτο στεφανοῦντες τὰ ἀγάλματα κατέσπεισαν.

The romantic supplements and transpositions of the editors may be contemplated in the editions. The drab truth is that a weary eye misread ΗΜΕΧΑΟΗ for ΗΜΕΛΧΘΗ and that Longus wrote, ἡ μὲν λχθῆ καὶ ἀπὸ αἰγῶν καὶ ἀπὸ οἶων τινῶν γάλα νέον, καὶ τοῦτο (Courier's τούτου is idle), στεφανοῦντες τὰ ἀγάλματα, κατέσπεισαν : a rather curious instance of the confusion of X, Λ (Δ, Α), which is common with or without further complication (e.g., Plut. *Otho* XIII. ἀγχωμάχου = ἀγχωμάδου; Polyæn. V. 2, 7 ἐξέχυσαν = ἐξεδυσαν; Mosch. II. 51 εἰναλῆς = Ἴναλῆς; Aristæn. I. 28 fin. ΚοΔΧίδος = ΚοΧΑίδος; D. Chrys. 126 D Δήτι = Χήτει; Σ Eur. *Hipp.* 58 ἐΧίνφ = <σ>ελίνφ; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. § 114 ΛΑίτος I, ΧΑίτος Tatian's MSS., ΑΔίτος Tatian *sec.* Euseb.; Ἀλόη = Χλόη Villos. Long. t. II. p. 214. Add, perhaps, Long. III. 6, where the dubious Δρόμφ might be better altered not to πόνφ—Edmonds—but to Χρόνφ).

Ep. 4, contd. (744, 37 sqq.). καὶ οἶμαι μὲν οὔτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐτοὺς, εἰ καὶ πάνυ λιυποίην καὶ μέγας γένοιτο ὁ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς φθόνος, εἰς γύναιον ἢ εἰς παιδάρια παροινεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειν· εἰ δ' αὖ λεπτή τις ἐλπίς μὲν, μᾶλλον δ' ἀμυδρὰ ἢ ἡ ὑποψία, ὁμηροὶ μὴ μᾶσσον μενέτω <σαν>.

λυποίην\*: λυποίη P, ἐπιδιδόη Hr || μέν\*: μόνον P || ἢ η\*: ἢ P || ὁμηροὶ μὴ μᾶσσον μενέτωσαν\*: ὀνείρφ ὑμᾶς ἴσον μενέτω P.

All that can be alleged in favour of these divinations may be alleged briefly. *Λυποίην*, then, is appropriate, for the verb is technical in its application to political unpopularity (Plut. *C. Gracch.* IX. 3 τοῖς Λατίνοις ἰσοψηφίαν διδοὺς ἐλπίει, *et sexcentiens*). The confusion of μέν and μόν is endless;<sup>1</sup> it is conceivable that Themistocles should have realized before Lord Verulam that he that hath wife and children hath given hostages to Fortune; it was not beyond his copyists to extract ὑμᾶς ἴσον from *μημασσον*; and though the comparative, always a stone of offence, does not recur in the Epistles, μήκιστος appears at 743, 48 and 752, 25—in the latter case, I think, wrongly. I see nothing, however, that deserves serious consideration.

Ib. 48 sqq. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτως ἥδη μισηγέον Ἀθηναίους ἡμῖν ὥστε τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν οἷα οὔτε ἐγένετο πώποθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἶμαί τε ὅτι οὐδ' ἔσται· εἰ δ' ἄρα γένοιτο (οὐδὲν γὰρ περιττὸν πάλιν ἐν τοῖς οὕτως ἀναγκαίοις <ὑπομνήσαι σε>), δεδῆλωκά σοι τὸ χρεὼν ὑπὸ σοῦ πραχθῆναι.

οἶμαί τε\*: οἶμαι δὲ P || ἔσται· εἰ δ'\*: ἔστιν οὐδ' P || γένοιτο (οὐδὲν . . . ἀναγκαίοις <ὑπομνήσαι σε>), δεδῆλωκα\*: γένοιτο οὐδὲν . . . ἀναγκαίοις. δεδῆλωκα P.

So, in essentials, the passage must have run : the lapses of Hercher and Westermann are best forgiven and forgotten.

<sup>1</sup> Add, again from the dregs of Greek, Pseudo-Libanius *de Socratis silentio*, § 22 init. : οὐ Σωκρατικά μὲν ἐστί ταῦτα, where the context clamours for μόνον. At § 25 med. read οὐχ ὑπὲρ Ἰλισσὸν

ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ τῇ καλῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μόνοι (μὲν οἱ codd.) τέττιγες φέρονται. Even to-day this production is all the worse for not having passed through Reiske's hands.

*Ib.* 54-745, 2. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείγειν ἡμᾶς ἐδόκει γράφειν παρὰ σέ, κατὰ ταῦτα δέ, ὅταν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γένηται, γράψομεν.

κατὰ ταῦτα\*: μετὰ ταῦτα P.

**Ep.** 5 (745, 4 sqq.). ἐπιτυχόντες δὲ Κρατησιπόλιδι καὶ Στρατολάφ τὰ σὰ ἀπεδίδομεν ἐκείνῃ γράμματα.

τ σ\*: τοις σοις P, † ε the same hand in the margin.

*Ib.* 16. ὁλκάδι. <καὶ δὴ> εἰς Πύδναν κτέ.?

*Ib.* 18. sqq. ταῦτά σοι τὰ περὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀδμητον ἦν ἀφίξεως. <τὰ> καὶ νὰ γράψεις Ἀργοθεν, οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ Ἀδμήτῳ . . . ἀλλὰ τῇ Κρατησιπόλιδι <πρόσειπ δὲ> παρὰ τε τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μέντοι κτέ.

<τὰ> καὶ νὰ γράψεις\*: καὶ ἵνα γράφῃς P || <>\*.

\*ἵνα γράφῃς for γράφε (Blass *N.T.G.* § 64, 4; Jannaris, § 1914b) is virtually impossible in this type of Greek, nor can a man be reasonably asked γράφειν τῷ δέινι παρὰ τοῦ δέινος καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μέντοι. For my insertion cf. *Heliod.* V. 22 τὴν κόρην . . . παρὰ τῆς ἐμῆς γαμετῆς πρόσκειπε, and the like everywhere.

**Ep.** 6 (*ib.* 29). πάντα [τοῦτον] τὸν βίον? Cf. 751, 14. *Ib.* 31. <δυνήθεις> ἀληθές τι?

*ib.* 39 sqq. The integrity of Themistocles' banker has hitherto been above suspicion: ὥστε (οὐδ' ἐμὴ γὰρ ἀμαρτία εὐξετάστω καὶ εὐθεωρήτῳ τὸν τρόπον ἀνδρὶ πιστεῦσαι) ἐμὴ [δὲ] ἴσως [τὸν] δυστυχία τὸν μηδενί πω ὑφ' ὧν οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν πέπονθεν <ἀ>πιστον εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ μόνον ὑφ' οὗ τὰ τηλικαῦτα ὄνῃται ἀδικον γεγονέναι.

( ) \* || ἐμὴ γὰρ μεγάλη Hr || εὐθεωρήτῳ Hr: ἀθ. P || ἐμὴ ἴσως δυστυχία τὸν μηδενί πω? \* (cf. 747, 43 ἐμὴ δυστυχία χάριν ἐπιστάμενοι οὐχ ἀμαρτήσασθε): ἐμὴ δὲ ἴσως τὸν δυστυχῇ αὐτὸν μηδὲ ἀπὸ P. Hr cites ἐμὸν δὲ ἴσως τὸ δυστύχημα τὸν (Car) μηδὲ ἀλλοις (West) || ἀπιστον Car?: πιστὸν P.

The passage might no doubt have been left in peace. In my speculative version the cancelled δέ and τόν would have to be taken as inserted, one after the obliteration of the parenthesis (compare the notes on 747, 16; *ib.* 42; 748, 1; 744, 24), one after the transition of δυστυχία τόν into δυστυχῇ αὐτόν (*Bast C.P.* 705 sq., with Schaefer's note on 914 sq.). For μηδενί πω I can merely apologize.

746, 11 sq. διέκεισο πικρῶς καὶ ἔξαρνος ἦσθα μὴδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ὀφείλεις ἐμοί.

διέκεισο . . . ἦσθα\*: ἔξαρνος ἦσθα καὶ διέκεισο (διετίνου Hr) πικρῶς P.

The tradition is not certainly at fault, but these slight dislocations are exceedingly common. For variety I cite *Livy* XXI. 8, 4: *Oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda <non sufficiebant; itaque> multifariam distineri coepti sunt.* [non sufficiebant; itaque] iam *feriebantur arietibus muri* . . . — <> . . . [ ]\*: *coepti* [sunt], *non sufficiebant* Weissenborn, vulg.; *alii alia*.—At *Clem. Alex. Paed.* II, § 74 read:

διὰ τοῦτό τοι εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίστευσαν ἀνθρώπων τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν ἐπιγινώσκονται δίκαιον, καὶ κύριον ὃν αὐτοὶ παρεπύκρναν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὸν κύριον.

ἀνθρώπων τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Schwartz<sup>1</sup>: ἀνθρώπων, τὸν φιλάνθρωπον || δίκαιον, καὶ κύριον ὃν\*: κύριον καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν.

<sup>1</sup> Who closed the sentence at δίκαιον, and by changing ὃν to ὅτι attempted vainly to connect the remaining words with the next sentence. In *Paed.* I., § 85, read: καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπος, «ὅτι» ἐξὸν εἶναι κύριον ἀδελφὸς εἶναι βεβούληται. Stählin prints ἀνθρώπων (a modifica-

tion of Mayor's ἀνθρώποις) and, in addition, Wilamowitz's ungrammatical κύριος, though a little later (§ 88 *med.*) both he and Wilamowitz leave πρὶν γὰρ κτίστην (*leg. κτίστης*) γενέσθαι θεὸς ἦν untouched.

746, 23 sqq. εἰ δ' ἀληθῶς οἰόμεθα καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ σοὶ εἶναι [καὶ] πανταχῇ πάντα Ἀθηναίων γέμει, οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβῶν λήσεις, ὃ Φιλοστέφανε, οὔτε ἐμὲ ἀδικῶν καταπρόξῃ· εἰ δὲ κάμου καταφρονεῖς<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀμελεῖς, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν Ἀθηναίους γε οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ.

[\*] Ἀθηναίων edd.<sup>2</sup>: ἀθηνίων P || καταπρόξῃ· εἰ δὲ . . . καταφρονεῖς . . . ἀμελεῖς, ἀλλὰ\*: καταπρόξῃ (οὐδ' εἰ . . . καταφρονήσεις . . . ἀμελήῃς), ἀλλὰ P.

The double negative might stand at a pinch, but the absurd punctuation of the vulgate ought unquestionably to be removed.

Ib. 32 sqq. ἀντεπιστελλε ὅστις εἴ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ ὅπῃ σοι διέγνωσται τὰ ἄλλα πρᾶσ-σε <IN>, INa εἰ μὲν εἴ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἔτυμος φίλος κτέ.

πράσσειν\*: πρὸς σε P || ἔτυμος M. Haupt: εὐθυμος P, εὐσημος Hr.

Westermann's τὰμὰ for τὰ ἄλλα is as perverse as the vulgate. The scribe of the Palatinus writes very sensibly either σσ or ττ as the spirit moves him—e.g. πρᾶσσομένων 756, 6> <πράττειν 749, 54; ἔλασσον 757, 46> <ἐλαττόνων 747, 15; τεσσαράκοντα 746, 15> <τετταράκοντα 745, 48. The author, I fancy, preferred the Wardour Street spelling.

Ep. 7 (ib. 48). ὑποτοπηθῆναι?\*: ὑποτιμηθῆναι P.

747, 8 sqq. εὖ μέντοι ἴσθι, οὐπὼ τὰ τετταράκοντα ταῦτα ΤΑΛΑΝΤΑ <ἀποδιδόνς ΤΑ ΠΙΑΝΤΑ> ἀποδώσειν ἡμῖν ἔμμελλες. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰλήφεις πῶ αὐτὰ, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν οὐ ταῦτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλα τριάκοντα ἄξιός ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι.

ἴσθι, οὐπὼ\*: οὐπὼ ἴσθι || <>\*.

There seems no other way of making the passage rational; and, if the copyist followed an exemplar the hand of which resembled his own, the difference between τάλαντα and τὰ πάντα was infinitesimal: See his Ἀπόλλωνος, λίθον, λαγῶς in Bast C.P., plate ii. 6. The transposition of οὐπὼ and ἴσθι need not lie heavy on a normal conscience. Correct an equally trivial case, which has the merit of being certain, at Liban. Dem. se incus. or. § 6 κατασπεύσας τὸ πρᾶγμα, δέον\* σχολὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασχέιν. (κατασπεύσας, δέον τὸ πρᾶγμα κτέ. vulg.). The source, overlooked by Foerster, is Aesch. Ctes. 67 τοὺς χρόνους ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατασπεύδων.

ib. 16 sqq. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ [μὲν] τοῦ διαγανακτεῖν ἑμαυτὸν ἐτοιμότερον καὶ προχειρότερον, ἀπιστῆσαι δέον ὥς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς φίλου . . . ἐκεῖνο λίγας τάληθεστατον ἂν εἵποιμι κτέ.

[\*] δέον\*: δὲ P.

Here, too, the chaotic vulgate is readily cured, for the genesis of μέν is clear, and the interchange of δέ and δέον, of course, regular (see, for instance, Bast Epist. Crit. 262<sup>105</sup> and Valckenaer on Phoen. 1628). At Clem. Alex. Strom. VII. § 23 *init.* write:

οὐκὼν χρὴ ἀθῆς τὰ ἀριδύλως εἰρημένα μυθολογεῖν· ὁθεν δέον ἐπισημῆνασθαι κατὰ τὸν τόπον γενομένους ὀλίγα ἐκ πολλῶν, ἀπόχρη καὶ τὰδε εἰς ἐνδειξιν κτέ.—ὅσον δὲ cod., edd. with a comma after ἀπόχρη.

The same passion for the adversative particles is in evidence below:

Hercher decided for the futures.

<sup>2</sup> Intelligibly enough, as the idea would be virtually that of passages like Xen. Hier. II. 8, οἱ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ διὰ πολέμιας πορεύονται.

If the word is seriously corrupt, it is not easy to emend, for Haupt's ἀθεσιῶν γέμεις (with [καὶ] τοῦτ') is one of his failures.

[δὲ] δυστυχῶς πεσόντος ἀδελφοῦ

τῆς [μ]

ἐμῇ

West

restore by core.

Ib. 46

κακῶς πεπαισθῶν ἂν π

πεπρα

747: 5

ὑπομείνει· ψενδῆ; ὁμνόντες ὑπ

πότερ

βε

748

The forced by alone, but interrogat

748, διὰ τί οὖν χρηστο τονηρόν;

Here duty for the Encyclo

γέρων: 7 καὶ κομήτ τῶν καλῶ

Ib. καθάπε

Θεμιστοκ

τη ΚΟΣ

γέννηται π

μένος ὁμν

εὐσεβεῖς

μαρτύρων

ἀνοχ

ἐτ

W

μ

I ha and ther



**Ep. 8** (ib. 42 sqq.). ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὦ Λέαγρε, τῆς [μὲν] ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας μόνῃ ἐμῇ [δὲ] δυστυχίᾳ χάριν ἐπιστάμενοι οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεσθε, ὅτι ὥσπερ μεγάλου καὶ πίνους θρέμματος πεπόντος ἄδην ἔσχε[τε] τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῆς ἐμῆς θοίνης.

τῆς [μὲν] . . . [δὲ] δυστυχίᾳ Hr West (practically): τῇ μὲν ὑμετέρα σωτηρία μόνῃ, ἐμῇ δὲ δυστυχίᾳ P || ἔσχε\*: ἔσχετε P, παρέσχετε West.

Westermann's παρέσχετε is damned by the sense, which I have attempted to restore by an impersonal ἄδην ἔσχε. The weary missive now becomes rotten to the core.

**Ib.** 46 sqq. καὶ μοι τοῦτο γοῦν μόνον . . . εὐτύχεται, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οὕτως ἄρρητως κακῶς πεπραγότει, <ΟΤΙ> ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς γε τοὺς ἐμὸν φίλους οὐ μέτρι' ὤνῃσα ταῦτα παθὼν ἂ πέπονθα.

πεπραγότει, <ὅτι> ἀλλ'\*: πεπραγότει. ἀλλ' P || μέτρι\*: μέτριον P, μετρίως Hr.

747, 50-748, 5. ἐπιθαρρεῖν δὲ καὶ . . . ἀγάλλεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ σωτηρίᾳ τίς ἂν . . . ὑπομείνει; πότερον [οὐχ] ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ καταβεβόθησθε καταβόησιν . . . οὕτω . . . ψευδῇ; ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἐξορκούντες Ἀριστείδης ἦν . . . καὶ Ἀλκμεωνίδης, οἱ δὲ ὁμνύντες ὑμεῖς;

πότερον Car?: πρότερον P || [ ]\* || αὐτοὶ\*: οὗτοι || καταβεβόθησθε] καταβεβοῆσθαι P || ψευδῇ; ἀλλ'\*: ψευδῇ, ἀλλ' P || ἐξορκούντες (or ὀρκούντες as at 748, 9)\*: ἐπιορκούντες P || Ἀλκμε. Hr: Ἀλκμαι. P.

The letter presupposes that on Themistocles' ostracism his partisans were forced by Aristides and his faction to renounce him upon oath. Hercher left ill alone, but the rhetorical questions are easily restored. When the first note of interrogation perished, οὐχ ὅτι was written to balance the ἀλλ' ὅτι following.

748, 9-14. ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν πιστεύουσιν ὅτι ὁμωμόκατε, πρὶν δ' ἄρα οὐκ ἐπίστευον; διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ κάμει ὥρκασαν, ἵνα κάμοι πεισθῶσιν;—εἰ δ' ἐμὲ μὲν πονηρὸν ἡγούντο, ὑμᾶς δὲ χρηστούς; διὰ τί οὖν καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡτιώντο τῇ καὶ τοὺς χρηστούς, ὅτεπερ κάμει τὸν πονηρόν;

χρηστούς; διὰ\*: χρηστούς, διὰ P (χρηστούς, διὰ τί οὐ Hr).

Hercher erred because he forgot, what he must have known, that εἰ δὲ may do duty for ἀλλὰ νῦν Δία. As Synesius favours the idiom, I give a few examples from the *Encomium Calvitii*: 69c εἰ δὲ κομῆ τις καὶ γέρων; καὶ γὰρ ἀφραίνει τις <καὶ> γέρων: 72B εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερος Ζεύς; οὐκ οἶδα μὲν εἰ τίς ἐστὶ κτέ.: 73C εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστὶ καὶ κομήτης ἀστήρ; ἐστὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς κτέ.: 75C εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑγίεια καλόν; τὸ κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν τῶν καλῶν: 80D εἰ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκόμα; . . . νέος γὰρ ἦν κτέ.

**Ib.** 19-31. None of this is true, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν παρούσας ἀνοχάς (<καὶ>, καθάπερ ἔλεγον, οὐ φθόνος αὐτῶν) πεποίηνται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι οὕτω μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέα ἄλλων δέονται, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐμοῦ πλήρεις εἰσίν· εἰ δ', οἷον εἰΚΟΣ, <προσεσ- τηΚΟΣ> εἴη τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ ἦδη, τῇ καὶ δὲ ὁρρωδῶ . . . μὴ δεσμὸς ὑμῶν ὁ ὄρκος γένηται πεπιστεῦσθαι μὲν οἰομένοις πιστεύουσι δὲ ἐξαπατωμένοις, καὶ γὰρ μὲν ὁ μὴ πεπιστευ- μένος ὁμνὺς ἐξω βεβηκὼς ἀρκύνων καὶ ἀρκυρῶν τύχῳ, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ μαρτυρούμενοι ὅτι εὐσεβεῖς ἐστέ καὶ εὐορκοὶ (<καὶ> ἐστὲ δὲ) ἐνασβεβηθῆτε καὶ ἐνεπιορκηθῆτε ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων.

ἀνοχάς (. . .) πεποίηνται\*: παροχάς, καθάπερ ἔλεγον, ὁ φθόνος αὐτῶν πεποίηνται P || ἐτι\*: ὅτι P || <προσεσθηΚός> εἴη τὸ\*: ἐρητο P || δεσμὸς\*: δ' ἐμὸς P, κενὸς West Hr || οἰομένοις . . . ἐξαπατωμένοις West: οἰόμενοι . . . ἐξαπατῶμενοι P || μαρτυρούμενοι\*: μαρτυρόμενοι || (<καὶ> ἐστὲ δὲ)\*: ἐς τὰδε P || ὑπὸ West: ἀπὸ P.

I have done what I could above to make the miserable sentence comprehensible, and there it is tempting to let the matter rest; a few words, however, may be added.

In the first place, then, Westermann's *kóros* for *φθόνος* was rational, but effected nothing. The change itself is not probable; it requires, even in this author, not *πεποιήται*, but *πεποίηκεν*, and it leaves the senseless *παροχάς* untouched. My own alterations seem to me fairly plausible. The prefix in *παροχάς* is due to the contagion of *παρούσας*;<sup>1</sup> *καί* for the thousand and first time has been swallowed by *κα*; and there is nothing abnormal in the confusion of *ο* and *οὐ*—almost any apparatus criticus will furnish an instance or two. The meaning leaves nothing to be desired, and the parenthesis refers to 747, 46 sqq. quoted above.

Next, Caryophilus' naïve *ἔρρει τὰ κατ' ἐμέ* for *ἔρητο κατ' ἐμέ* is idle: the one sense possible is *εἰ δὲ πλήσμιον τὸ κατ' ἐμέ ἤδη*, but I have failed to elicit it from the apices. *Δεσμός*, later, is a passing thought.

Finally, *ἐς τὰδε* is meaningless, and *μαρτυρόμενοι* much worse, for the participle is no antithesis to *μὴ πεπιστευμένος*; and it is reduced to absurdity by the fact that, if it is sound, then *ὑπὸ τῶν μαρτύρων* assumes the sense of *ὑφ' ἑμῶν αὐτῶν*. I take *μαρτυρούμενοι* to be necessary: of the other problem I offer a speculative solution.

*Ib.* 44-48. *καὶ ὃ ὑπανάστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ὀλυμπίαζε παρελθόντι ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγώνος, τοῦτ' οὐχ οἷον ἐν πανηγύρει καὶ θεάτρῳ τιμῇ καὶ προεδρεία τὰ νῦν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν βεβήλῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οἰκησιν.*

*οὐχ οἷον\** : *οὐχ οἰονται* (i.e. *οἶον τε*) P, *οὐχ ὅτι* Hr || *θεάτρῳ* Hr : *οσακρω* P || *τιμῇ* . . . *προεδρεία* . . . *οἰκησιν* West : *τιμῇ* . . . *προεδρεία* . . . *οἰκίσει* P.

*Οὐχ οἷον* is plainly the true correction. The idiom, of course, is found passim in Polybius and sporadically elsewhere—e.g. *Phil. Jud. II.*, p. 218M, *οὐχ οἷον ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας οὐρανός*; *Phal. ep. 38*, *οὐχ οἷον ἀνθρώπου τινὶ* . . . *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ θεῶν τῷ δυναστεύοντι*, where even Markland on *Max. Tyr. IX. 7* (I., p. 161, Reiske) allowed himself to conjecture *οὐχ ὅτι*.

CALDBECK, CUMBERLAND.

<sup>1</sup> This paper might be filled with parallels. A few, mostly concerned with prepositions or prefixes, may be appended: *Porph. antr. Nymph. 5* (p. 59, 10, Nck.), *αὐτοφύης* . . . *καὶ [αὐτο] συμφύης*; *Clem. Alex. Paed. II.*, § 28, *πολυκλύζεται* (*περικλ. F<sup>2</sup>, ἐπικλ. a Catena*) . . . *πολυποσία*: *Iambl. V. Pyth. XIX.*, *συνδιατρίψας* . . . *συνδιατρίψας* (*προσδ. F*): *Strab. 235 Cas.*, *στρατῆσιν* *ἐκ τῶν ἀπελευθέρ[ισ]των*; *Hyperid. epit. XVII.*, *τὴν πόλιν τῶν Θ. οὐκ ὁρῶντες ἡφανισμένην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, τὴν δὲ ἀκρόπολιν [ἐξ] αὐτῆς φρουρουμένην*: *id. Eux. VI.*, *γραφὰ βασιλείας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα*: *Jul. 75A*, *τὰ [ὑπὲρ] τῆς Ἰλίας ἐπη* . . . *τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔργων*: *55C*, *ὑπεραγωνιζόμενος καὶ ὑπερβεβηκώς* (= *ἐπιβ.*) *τῶν ἱκρίων*: *Aesch. f.l. 167*, *τοὺς συνεφέχουσιν καὶ τοὺς [συν]άρχοντας*: *X. Oec. V. 7*, *συνπαρέχονται*. *συνπαρορμῇ* (*παρορμῇ Stob.*): *Philostr. V.A. I. 4*,

*δοσις* . . . [*ἐξ*] *ἐγένετο ὁ Πρ. τί δὲ ἐξηγοίμην*: *Plut. S.S.C. 150F*, *ὁ Περίανδρος [περί]ορων*: *2 Macc. XI. 23-24*, *γενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (= *ἰδίων*) *ἐπιμέλειαν ἀκηκόες τοὺς Ἰουδαίους* (*Alex.*): *Σ ΑΓ. Εἰ. 603*, *ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα Μηδείας* (*πεδιάς Hemsterhuys*) *τε οὐσα*: *D. Chrys. 196B*, *ἐν Βάκτροις* . . . *ἡ Παλιμβάκτροις* (= *Παλιβόθροις*. So C, according to an anonymous collation in my copy of Geel). And 'so *ad infinitum*. To the host of passages corrected or to be corrected on this principle add *Lib. Cor. or. 3*, *οὐδ' ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ὄντες ἐπέστημεν τῇ [συν]γραφῇ, συγγενεῖς δ' ὄντες* . . . *τῶν ἀπολωλότων*, and *Clem. Alex. Paed. III.*, § 51, *κοσμοῦ ΔΕΕΣΤΕΡΑ* (*leg. κοσμιωτέρα*) *καὶ ἀνδρῶν ΔΕΕΣΤΕΡΑ*. Outside this passage *κοσμιώδης*, so far as I know, has no certificate of existence.

(To be continued.)

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ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
δρ, Reiske)

JACKSON.

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2 Macc. XI.  
ων (= ιδίαν)  
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## THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS OF HELIODORVS.

THERE seem to be five manuscripts of the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus which are of value for establishing the text :

Vaticanus Graecus 157	Saec. XI.	V <sup>1</sup>
Vaticanus Graecus 1390	Saec. XIII.-XIV.	C
Vindobonensis Graecus 130	? Saec. XIV.	B
Monacensis Graecus 157	Saec. XV. (init.)	M
Palatinus Graecus 125	Saec. XV.	P

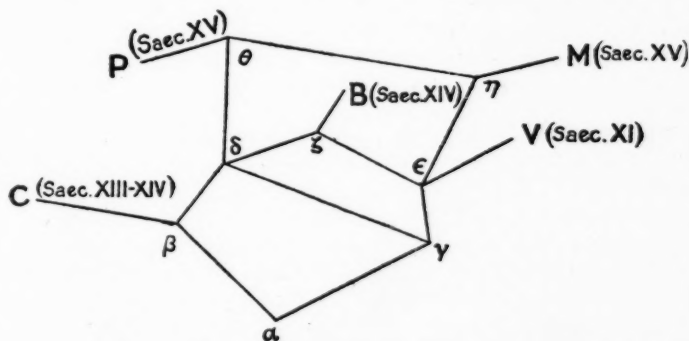
To these may be added with some doubt three others :

Vindobonensis Graecus 116	? Saec. XVI.	A
Taurinensis Graecus 120	Saec. XVI.	T

and

Codex Xylandri, which now seems to be lost	X
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Since the variations between these MSS. are not very striking, and are in the main concerned with small points, the criticism and classification of them presents many difficulties. But there is ample evidence to show that they represent at least two traditions—one handed down by BCP and the other by MV. But whereas M, V and C probably give a fairly true version of their respective ancestors, both B and P seem to be influenced to a considerable extent by the rival tradition. That is to say, that although in the majority of cases, when the MSS. are divided, BCP agree against MV, cases of B or P agreeing with M or V against C are not uncommon, whereas cases of M or V supporting members of the other group against one another are much farther to seek. The following genealogical tree would



account more or less satisfactorily for the existing phenomena. It is proposed without, of course, any pretence to exactitude, for the number of lost MSS. is

<sup>1</sup> I have used the letters employed by the editors for such MSS. as they have treated. C and M, which they have not quoted, I have supplied. It may be said in passing that Hirschig seems to use V to describe both V and X.

probably much larger, and must in any case remain a matter for conjecture; but it shows in the clearest way the apparent relations between the most important extant MSS.

The evidence for a common archetype,  $\alpha$ , is twofold. First, the comparatively small differences in the MSS., which would hardly justify the assumption that they ever had more than one original source; and, secondly, certain apparent corruptions which are common to all MSS. (e.g. I. 10 [Teubner, p. 13. 11 sq.],  $\delta$  νέος Ἰππόλυτος  $\delta$  Θησεύς  $\delta$  ἐμός, where  $\delta$  Θησεύς has surely arisen from  $\delta$  Θησεύς, a marginal gloss on Ἰππόλυτος. VI. 3 [p. 161. 9], where all MSS. give  $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\eta$ , though  $\mu\omicron\iota$  seems to be required. Compare also the more extensive corruptions on p. 262. 1 sq. and p. 265. 7 sq., where the MS. reading is  $\pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \phi\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ ; but in both these cases the evidence of B and C is lacking).<sup>1</sup>

But the text as handed down to us in the extant MSS. shows that at some time, probably fairly early, two versions arose from  $\alpha$ . The general agreement in notable readings of BCP on the one hand and MV on the other postulates a common ancestor  $\beta$  for the former and  $\gamma$  for the latter:

Teubner, p. 7. 7	κατὰ τοῦτο BCP: $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\ \text{MV}$ .
„ p. 7. 29	τῶν μὲν λεγομένων BCP: τῶν λεγομένων MV.
„ p. 140. 27	ἐμπειρίαν BCP: ἐμπορίαν MV.
„ p. 167. 29	χηρεύει BCP: χορεύει MV.
„ p. 168. 17	μηδὲ καθ' ὑπνοῦς συγγένῃ VM: BCP omit the words.
„ p. 169. 1 sq.	καὶ τὸ πρό . . . ἐπισημαίνον BCP: MV omit the words.

Many other instances might be cited.

While it is clear, then, that BCP have a common ancestor, it is equally clear that this was not their direct parent, for both B and P too often are in opposition to C. It is noticeable, moreover, that B or P frequently supports M or V against its fellow and C;<sup>2</sup> and the natural conclusion is that B and P first split off from the main tradition, and then came under the influence of members of the other family. Now the agreements of P with M and V are much more frequent in the last book and a half, which leads to a further question, Was the common ancestor of BCP defective? The following considerations, though not conclusive, tend to show that it was, and that it broke off in the middle of Book IX. In the first place, two of the three extant MSS. representing the family are defective. C breaks off in the middle of VII. 7, and B in the middle of IX. 13. Now the break in B seems to be undoubtedly due to a defective parent, for it occurs in the middle of a sentence and in the middle of a page.<sup>3</sup> The scribe continues, without leaving a gap, with the last part of Book III., which is omitted in its proper place. This may be due either to the carelessness of the scribe of B or to a misplacement of the leaves in the MS. from which he was copying. However that may be, he proceeds to complete Book III., and then brings the MS. to a close. It does not therefore look as if he had a complete MS. before him. The break in C, on the other hand, though this also is in the middle of a sentence, comes at the end of a page,<sup>4</sup> so that the defect in C might be due to the loss of some of its own leaves. But it is not inconsistent with the facts to assume that originally it was defective to the same extent as B—that is to say, that it has lost on its own account from VII. 7 to IX. 13, but that it never contained

<sup>1</sup> Reason is given below for suspecting that  $\beta$  did not contain the passage in which these two difficulties occur, in which case they give no support to the theory here put forward. But the other evidence is, I think, sufficient.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Teubner, p. 4. 18, τῆς νεώς CP: τῆς νεώς BMV. P. 119. 17, τὸ δὲ νῦν PMV: omitted

by BC.

<sup>3</sup> P. 61 verso, the last words being  $\epsilon\iota\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\delta\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\nu$  (Teubner, p. 258. 13), which are immediately followed by  $\delta\tau\omega\ \delta\epsilon\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \tau\rho\acute{o}\pi\omega$  κτλ. (Teubner, p. 92. 17).

<sup>4</sup> P. 200 verso. The last words are  $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \gamma\gamma\omega$  . . . (Teubner, p. 186. 1).

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<sup>1</sup> E.g.  
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<sup>2</sup> Whe  
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the end of the ninth or the tenth book. This is supported by the second consideration—that in this interval between the seventh and ninth books BP retain in opposition to MV several striking readings,<sup>1</sup> which point to the conclusion that  $\beta$  had the passage and so probably C also. In the third place, after the defection of B, the agreement of P with M or V is much more frequent and notable. The alternatives which it provides are usually bad, and look like scribal errors, of which there are many examples throughout the MS. Finally, the most puzzling corruption in the whole book occurs in this passage (p. 262. 1 sq.). Might not this and several others (e.g. p. 265. 7 sq.) be due to the fact that we are here thrown back on one tradition alone, and that, as I shall endeavour to show, the less trustworthy?<sup>2</sup>

But before attempting to estimate the value of these MSS. a few words must be given to A, X and T, and, in addition, a short summary of the methods by which previous editors have constituted the text. A, X and T all belong apparently to the mixed class of MSS., and seem to be inferior companions of BP. X appears to be lost, and can only be judged from the quotations which Commelinus gives in his critical notes. Since I have not seen T, I am forced to judge this too from excerpts, made in this instance by D'Orville in his edition of *Charito*. But since the quotations are in both cases made for the purpose of showing the best the MS. in question can do, a full examination of them would probably yield no fruit. They bear traces of both traditions, but are marred by slips and interpolations. A, on the other hand, perhaps deserves more attention, though it has been vastly overrated by one editor. It belongs to the mixed class, but contains more readings peculiar to itself than any other MS. The majority of these, however, are bad, and obviously due to mistakes, while those that appear to be good are more likely to be attempts at emendation than genuine relics of another tradition. A is, in fact, a medley of corruptions, interpolations and corrections, to which reference may sometimes be made, as also to X and T; but ultimately the text must rest on the evidence of BCP and MV.

To turn to the editions, Heliodorus has been printed ten times in all between 1534 and 1856. But only three of the editors have made any attempt to arrive at the best text by using the evidence of the MSS.: Commelinus in 1596, Mitscherlich in 1794, and Hirschig in 1856. And even these did not use scientific methods: the first two considered the variants on their own merits only, while the last was carried away by partiality for a MS. of which his knowledge was both fragmentary and inaccurate.

The first edition<sup>3</sup> is merely a transcript, more or less correct, of M, with no attempt on the part of the editor at emendation. Its only value, therefore, is as a collation of that MS. The second edition is that of Commelinus, and is by far the most important. The text is derived from four sources: The first edition, P, which he collated in full for himself, excerpts from X as communicated to him by Xylander, and readings from V provided by Andreas Schottus. With the help of the variants thus supplied he corrected many of the errors of the first edition, and produced a greatly improved text for reading purposes, and one which remained the standard until the end of the eighteenth century, for the intervening editors merely reprinted

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Teubner, p. 191. 27,  $\mu\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}$  BP:  $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\omega$  MV, p. 221. 2,  $\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota$  BP:  $\epsilon\lambda\eta\gamma\epsilon\iota$  MV, p. 246. 19,  $\delta\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\pi\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\nu\nu\acute{\omicron}\eta\sigma\epsilon$  BP: omitted by MV.

<sup>2</sup> Whether it is right or wrong to assume that  $\beta$  was defective, the main question of the existence and authority of the two families is not affected. The only difference is that if  $\beta$  was defective, P has no more, and probably less, value than M and V in the passage in question;

whereas if  $\beta$  was a complete MS., then P might be judged to retain some of its readings when it is in opposition to MV.

<sup>3</sup> *Basileae ex Officina Hervagiana*, February, 1534; edited by Vincentius Obsopoeus [cf. H. Simonsfeld, *Einige kunst- und literaturgeschichtliche Funde*, pp. 539-547 (*Sitzungsberichte der philosoph. und der histor. Classe der kgl. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1902, Heft IV.)].

his text with no alterations, except a few conjectures and many misprints. Mitscherlich<sup>1</sup> also used Commelinus, but with more judgment; that is to say, he used his critical notes as well as his text, and made further alterations on the strength of them. He had before him, in addition, the readings from T, quoted in D'Orville's *Charito*;<sup>2</sup> but of these, probably rightly, he makes little use. His text forms the basis of Hirschig's,<sup>3</sup> who, however, also took into consideration A and B, two MSS. hitherto untouched. But his use of them did more harm than good to the text. He did not see either of them for himself, but, struck with admiration for some of the variants to which he had access, he put an entirely false value on A, and introduced into his text, as coming from the best MS., many readings which are clearly due to the carelessness or imagination of the scribe of one of the worst. His text, therefore, is not so satisfactory as the text of Bekker,<sup>4</sup> who practically reprinted that of Coraes.<sup>5</sup> The latter is simply Commelinus emended by Coraes, and the value of the edition is not its text, but its extensive commentary.

To sum up, then, the following facts are to be noted. First, that M and P are the only MSS. which have been fully collated, and that not since the sixteenth century; that ABTVX were only known to editors by selected readings, and in every case at secondhand; and, most important, that C has never been used at all. Secondly, the treatment has been throughout eclectic; no editor has made any attempt to assess the value of the MSS. which he has used, but each has selected what on its own merits appeared to him the best reading from any MS. he could find without considering its authority. Thirdly, there are no satisfactory critical notes. Commelinus provides the best, but he does not go very far, and is not blameless of misquoting even P, which he collated for himself. Mitscherlich gives no more than selections from Commelinus, with additional quotations from T. Bekker is quite useless, never mentioning variants in the MSS. at all. Hirschig's notes are the most extensive, but marred by so frequent misquotations as to be almost valueless.

The task, then, of the next editor is to rectify the shortcomings of his predecessors, and the first step must be a return to the MSS. and a scientific treatment of ALL the available evidence. I have already made an attempt to classify the MSS.; it now remains to estimate the value of the families and the individuals within them. BCP in so many cases give superior readings to MV<sup>6</sup> that it can hardly be doubted that  $\beta$ , though possibly defective, was a better MS. than  $\gamma$ . If, therefore, the reading of  $\beta$  can be arrived at, there is a strong presumption in favour of its being correct. When the families are divided, and BCP agree in a reading, we may be fairly confident that this was the reading of  $\beta$ , and almost equally confident when only BC or CP agree;<sup>7</sup> for in the first case P, and in the second case B, has probably been influenced by the other family. An agreement, however, of BP cannot be treated with the same certainty, for these two MSS. sometimes agree in a bad reading against a good one by C,<sup>8</sup> and are occasionally in opposition to the combination CV, which is the strongest evidence of all, and probably represents  $\alpha$ . But there are obvious errors in C, so that when C is clearly corrupt, and BP agree against MV in a possible reading, they carry a certain amount of weight, and must in any case be taken seriously after the failure of C when they

<sup>1</sup> *Scriptores Erotici Graeci*, Vol. II. 1792-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Charitonis Chaereas et Callirhoe*. Text and notes by J. P. D'Orville. Amsterdam, 1750.

<sup>3</sup> *Erotici Scriptores*. Didot. Paris, 1856.

<sup>4</sup> Heliodori, *Aethiopica*. Teubner. Leipzig, 1855.

<sup>5</sup> *Ἡλιοδώρου Αἰθιοπικά*, ἃ . . . μετὰ σημειώσεων ἐξέδωκε . . . Ο. Δ. Κοράης. Paris, 1804.

<sup>6</sup> For examples see above.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Teubner, p. 3. 12, τρίτον ζωστήρος CP: τρίτον ζωστήρα MVB. P. 119. 17, τὸ δὲ νῦν MVP: omitted by BC.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. Teubner, p. 25. 21, παρελίσθαι παρανομήσαντος C: παρελίσθαι omitted by BP: παρανομήσαντος omitted by MV (though V has it added in the margin by a later hand).

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give several striking readings against MV, of which examples have been given,<sup>1</sup> and which may reasonably be supposed to be a correct reproduction of  $\beta$ .<sup>2</sup> However C, as far as it goes, is without much doubt the best representative of the  $\beta$  family, and has less individual blunders than either B or P.

When the families are divided, then, an attempt to arrive at the reading of  $\beta$  will probably secure the best results; but this only holds good down to the failure of B in the middle of Book IX. For even if it is not allowed that  $\beta$  was defective, it is a well-nigh hopeless task to attempt to reconstruct its readings from P alone, even with the dubious assistance of the inferior MSS. If, as I think right, it is assumed that  $\beta$  went no further than B, for the last book and a half we are thrown back on MV. Of these two V is undoubtedly the better, and must be the basis of the text for this passage. This does not mean that MV are valueless in the other parts of the book. Owing to the fact that C as well as BP present many errors peculiar to themselves, which can be nothing else than scribes' mistakes, constant reference to MV is necessary throughout. To characterize the MSS. in a few words, BCP are inferior members of a good family, while MV, and especially V, are good members of an inferior one. Although it may be argued that it is unlikely that the inferior family will retain the correct reading just at the places where the better family fails, yet, since the points of difference are on the whole small, it seems safer to follow MV if possible than to resort to conjecture. For it must be remembered that when BCP all give different readings, or when BP are opposed to C, it is possible that the errors are personal and not handed down from  $\beta$ , which must, of course, in the vast majority of cases, have been the same as  $\gamma$ . Therefore the text must be eclectic to some extent, but only within limits. By taking all the evidence into consideration, and exercising consistency as far as possible in its treatment, there could be constituted a text of the *Aethiopica* which would bear a much greater resemblance than the existing ones to the composition of Heliodorus.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since writing this article, I have found reason to believe that the MS. which Hirschig quotes under the letter V is the same as that which Commelinus cites as X or Xyl. and also the same as the one collated by Amyot, whose readings Coraes gives in his commentary. Hirschig, then, did not use Vat. 157 at all. If his V readings are sometimes the same as those of Vat. 157, it is only because the MSS., which I call V and X, do, not infrequently, agree, as can be seen from the notes of Commelinus.

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<sup>1</sup> P. 179, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Since B and P, when they disagree with C, only rarely agree with one another, it would perhaps be better to assume that their ancestors broke off from  $\beta$  independently instead of postulating, as I have done in the tree, a common parent for them ( $\delta$ ). However, there are cases

such as that quoted on p. 180, note 8. The very fact that BP rarely agree against C when it is available is strong evidence in support of the contention that an agreement of BP after C's failure gives a reading which C and so  $\beta$  would have given had they been extant.

## A NOTE ON THE POLICY OF CLODIUS.

THE following note is written with reference to an article in the *C.Q.* of April, 1924, the substance of which was that in 58 B.C. Clodius was acting consistently in the interests of Caesar, and at no time seriously attacked him. In discussing his 'attacks upon the acts of Caesar,' referred to in *De domo*, § 40, and *De har. resp.*, § 48, the view was then taken that the attack was purely ironical, 'though Clodius probably found pleasure in pressing it as it placed Pompey and the Optimates, who were friendly to him, in a very awkward predicament.' It is this point which I wish to correct; and would now say that the primary object of the manoeuvre was to embarrass Pompey and to create trouble between him and the Optimates, with whom he was then trying to make friends.

The date of this attack is *subsequent*<sup>1</sup> to the affair of Tigranes<sup>2</sup> and Pompey's 'accession to the constitutional cause' in May, 58,<sup>3</sup> and *prior*<sup>4</sup> to the alleged attempted assassination of Pompey on August 11;<sup>5</sup> it was made at a time when Clodius' tribunate was being threatened;<sup>6</sup> it was connected with the question of Cicero's recall;<sup>7</sup> it took the form of an offer to the Optimates—'a most fallacious offer' Cicero says;<sup>8</sup> and it was undoubtedly part of the attack on Pompey.<sup>9</sup>

In *De prou. cons.*, § 46, we have the statement that on several occasions offers were made by the Optimates to Caesar that his measures should be *re-enacted with due observance of the auspices*. This clearly represents an attempt at reconciliation between the Senatorial party and Caesar, and an invitation to him to sever his connexion with the 'populares.'<sup>10</sup> As the expressed object of the offer was to restore the 'constitutional safeguard'<sup>11</sup> of the auspices, presumably it did *not* include the recognition of the validity of Clodius' tribunate—for one of his first measures had been to pass a law to abolish those safeguards altogether.<sup>12</sup> By May, 58, Pompey had begun to show an interest in the recall of Cicero,<sup>13</sup> had been insulted and attacked by Clodius,<sup>14</sup> and had publicly denounced the Popular party.<sup>15</sup> There is no doubt that the policy of reconciliation with the Senate had commenced, and that attempts were made to secure the participation of Caesar<sup>16</sup>—attempts which, in spite of Caesar's non-committal attitude, were ultimately, in the autumn of 57, assumed to have been successful.<sup>17</sup> I would therefore date the commencement of the offers referred to in *De prou. cons.*, § 46, to the early summer of 58, and suggest that what happened was as follows:

In May, 58, proposals were put forward,<sup>18</sup> partly with a view to Cicero's recall,

<sup>1</sup> *De har. resp.* 48. Cf. *Pro Sest.* 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> *Att.* III. 8. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Pro Sest.* 67, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *De har. resp.* 48-49, 'longius processit; in ipsum Cn. Pompeium . . . inuehi coepit,' et seq.

<sup>5</sup> Ascon. 47 (ed. Orelli).

<sup>6</sup> *De domo* 40, 'Tu tuo praecipitante iam et debilitato tribunatu auspiciorum patronus subito exstitisti.'

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* 'quod si fieret,' etc.

<sup>8</sup> *De har. resp.* 48.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* 48-49.

<sup>10</sup> Whose particular policy it had been to attack the auspices. Cf. *In Vat.* 14-15; *Pro Sest.* 33, etc.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Att.* II. 9. 1, 'qui omnia remedia rei-

publicae effuderunt, etc.'

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Pro Sest.* 33, etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Att.* III. 8. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.* Ascon. 47.

<sup>15</sup> *Pro Sest.* 67, etc.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Pro Sest.* 71; *Att.* III. 18. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Ad fam.* I. 9. 14; *De prou. cons.* 25.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *De domo* 40, 'praecipitante iam et debilitato tribunatu.' *De har. resp.* 50, 'cuius initia furoris dissensionibus eorum qui tum a uobis seiuncti uidebantur sustentata sunt. Reliqua iam praecipitantis tribunatus . . . obtractores eorum atque aduersarii defenderunt.' Cf. also Heitland, Vol. III., pp. 173-174; *De domo* 34-39; *De prou. cons.* 45-46; Dio 39. 21.

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that Clodius' tribunate should be declared null and void 'quod contra auspicia adoptatus esset'.<sup>1</sup> Pompey, whom Clodius had already alienated by the Tigranes episode, would sympathize with the effort to remove him;<sup>2</sup> but the ratification of his own acts and the settlement of his veterans suffered from the same defect as Clodius' adoption, since all the acts of Caesar had been carried against the auspices.<sup>3</sup> Pompey's rapprochement with the Optimates had already begun, and consequently tentative offers were made to Caesar that his measures should be re-enacted with the due observance of the auspices, the condition being that he should sever his connexion with the 'populares,' and that Clodius and his measures should go.<sup>4</sup> Clodius' retort was to turn the tables by a sham attack upon the acts of Caesar. He 'suddenly began to offer himself most fallaciously for sale'<sup>5</sup> to the Optimate irreconcilables, from certain of whom he received no little encouragement.<sup>6</sup> His offer in effect was that he should stay<sup>7</sup> and Caesar's legislation go. This was not practical politics of course, as Clodius very well knew; but the manoeuvre was calculated to attain several objects simultaneously—to attack Pompey at his most vulnerable point, the settlement of his veterans and the ratification of his acts; to bring up anew the old matters of contention between him and the Optimates,<sup>8</sup> and so to check his rapprochement with the Senate and drive him back on his alliance with Caesar to defend their common interests against the common foe; to block the recall of Cicero by raising the impasse, in which he was quite successful;<sup>9</sup> to secure the support of a section of the irreconcilables who were foolish or calculating enough to take the bait;<sup>10</sup> to protect his own position, threatened by Pompey and his senatorial friends; and finally to 'camouflage' his own connexion with Caesar.

Least it should be thought that we are giving Clodius credit for too much ingenuity, we have only to consider the cliques and factions of Roman politicians, their forensic training, and the prevalence of every known form of collusive manoeuvre in their law courts, as also the fact that Clodius was no beginner. He is accused of 'præuaricatio' in his prosecution of Catiline in 65;<sup>11</sup> in 59 Curio told Cicero that Clodius was at daggers drawn with Caesar, and if elected tribune intended to 'rescind his acts,' and that Caesar was opposed to his adoption.<sup>12</sup> Cicero clearly expresses his doubt of the tale,<sup>13</sup> but, as Professor Tyrrell<sup>14</sup> says, 'the blind seems to have been successful for a while.' We may also call to mind the number of birds which Clodius aimed to kill with one stone when he despatched Cato on his mission to Cyprus—to secure his good will,<sup>15</sup> to get rid of him,<sup>16</sup> to invalidate his objections in the future to the giving of extraordinary commissions,<sup>17</sup> to give him a thoroughly invidious task,<sup>18</sup> and to impeach him, if convenient, on his

<sup>1</sup> *De domo* 40.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De har. resp.* 50; *vide* n. 18, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *De domo* 40.

<sup>4</sup> The Senate might exercise its discretion in such a case. Cf. Willems, *Droit public romain*, p. 155; Cic. *De leg.* II. 12, 31.

<sup>5</sup> *De har. resp.* 48.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, 'Ferebant in oculis hominem quidam boni uiri . . . inibat gratiam a nonnullis.' Cf. *ib.* 50.

<sup>7</sup> 'Become a good Optimate and restore the father of his fatherland on his own shoulders' (*De domo* 40). Cicero's suggestion that he did not realize that his own position was involved (*De har. resp.* 48, 'quam caecus amentia non uidebat') need not be taken seriously.

<sup>8</sup> The question of the agrarian laws and the 'donations' of the eastern kingdoms (cf. *Fam.* I. 9. 7, and *Att.* II. 9. 1).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Pro Sest.* 73. His measure against Cicero was subsequently attacked on fresh grounds: 'etiamsi iure esset rogatum, tamen uim habere non posset.'

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *De har. resp.* 48, 'Ferebant in oculis quidam boni uiri,' et sqq. *Ib.* 50, 'Volo' inquit 'esse qui in contione detrahat de Pompeio.' Cf. *Q. fr.* II. 2. 2 and 3, where Bibulus, Favonius, Curio, and Servilius join him again in attacks on Pompey.

<sup>11</sup> *De har. resp.* 42.

<sup>12</sup> *Att.* II. 12. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>14</sup> *Correspondence of Cicero, ad loc.*

<sup>15</sup> *De domo* 65, 'quasi per beneficium.' Cf. Dio 39. 22.

<sup>16</sup> *De domo* 22, 65; *Pro Sest.* 60.

<sup>17</sup> *De domo* 22; *Pro Sest.* 60.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Pro Sest.* 60, 'splendorem maculare.'

return;<sup>4</sup> nor should we forget that Caesar wrote to congratulate Clodius on his cleverness in 58,<sup>2</sup> and, according to some, was actually directing his operations against Cato in 56.<sup>3</sup>

Had Clodius really been attacking Caesar in 58, we should have expected some mention of the Lex Vatinia which gave Caesar his command in Gaul; above all we should have expected some protest from Caesar (which Cicero would surely not have neglected to record), if not his acceptance of those offers of the Optimates and the prompt suppression of Clodius by the combined forces of the triumvirate. But there appears to be no evidence that Caesar's relations with Clodius and the populares became strained at all. Clodius and Vatinius collaborated in the prosecution of Milo and Sestius in 56,<sup>4</sup> and Vatinius at any rate continued to boast of his excellent relations with Caesar;<sup>5</sup> and—apart from other evidence<sup>6</sup>—we have Dio's statement that Caesar was hand-in-glove with Clodius at the same time.<sup>7</sup> Nor do I now think it altogether correct to say that the violence of Clodius drove Pompey into the arms of the Optimates. On the one hand Pompey appears to have needed no driving—his negotiations with the Optimates quite probably commenced before the attacks of Clodius;<sup>8</sup> on the other Clodius hindered their rapprochement, and kept Pompey in comparative impotence for a full year,<sup>9</sup> whilst in the course of his attacks on Pompey he obtained the support of a section, at any rate, of the Optimates,<sup>10</sup> who appear later on in alliance with him and Crassus against Pompey, who was then once more intriguing against the interests of Caesar.<sup>11</sup>

There is one more point: In *Ad fam.* 1. 9. 9 we have Pompey's statement that all he had done for Cicero's recall had been done with Caesar's assent. If the statement is only half true, that assent must have been given in 58. It seems clear that Caesar was reluctant to have Cicero back, but probably he was hardly in a position to refuse Pompey's request point-blank. During that year Sestius undertook a mission to Caesar on Cicero's behalf, and Cicero's remark as to its results—'quid egerit quantum profecerit, nihil ad causam. equidem existimo, si ille ut arbitrator, aequus nobis fuerit, nihil ab hoc profectum, sin iratior, non multum'<sup>12</sup>—implies a qualified assent on the part of Caesar. Possibly his reply was that *he had no objection to Cicero's return if the assent of the people were obtained*. This was, at any rate, the line that Pompey followed in January of the next year. As the first act of his consulship Spinther again brought up the case of Cicero.<sup>13</sup> Pompey gave his warm support, but added his opinion 'ut ad Senatus auctoritatem populi quoque Romani beneficium adiungeretur';<sup>14</sup> and it was precisely this consent of the 'people' that the faithful Clodius and his gang of roughs were able to withhold until August, 57.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dio 39. 23. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *De domo* 22.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *In Vat.* 41.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *In Vat.* 13, 15, 38; *Pro Sest.* 132, 135.

<sup>6</sup> See *C.Q.*, April, 1924.

<sup>7</sup> Dio 39. 23. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Att.* III. 8. The first of Cicero's letters which refers to the Tigranes' episode also con-

<sup>3</sup> Dio 39. 23. 4.

tains the news that Varro and Hypsaeus, friends of Pompey, had been active on his behalf.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Pro Sest.* 69; *De domo* 67; *De har. resp.* 49; *Ascon.* 47.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *De har. resp.* 48, 50, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Q. fr.* II. 3. 2 and 3; *C.Q.*, April, 1924.

<sup>12</sup> *Pro Sest.* 71.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.* 72, 73.

<sup>14</sup> *Ib.* 74.

## THE *LEX MAMILIA ROSCIA PEDVCAEA ALLIENA FABIA*.

I PREFIX to this paper for convenience of reference the three extant chapters of the law:

K.L. III. Quae colonia hac lege deducta quodue municipium praefectura forum conciliabulum constitutum erit, qui ager intra fines eorum erit, qui termini in eo agro statuti erunt, quo in loco terminus non stabit, in eo loco is, cuius is ager erit, terminum restituendum curato, uti quod recte factum esse uolet: idque magistratus, qui in ea colonia municipio praefectura foro conciliabulo iure dicundo praeerit, facito ut fiat.

K.L. IIII. Qui limites decumanique hac lege deducti erunt, quaecumque fossae limitales in eo agro erunt, qui ager hac lege datus adsignatus erit, ne quis eos limites decumanosque obsaeptos neuē quid in eis molitum neuē quid ibi opsaeptum habeto, neuē eos arato, neuē eis fossas opturato neuē opsaepto, quominus suo itinere aqua ire fluere possit. Si quis aduersus ea quid fecerit, is in res singulas quotienscumque fecerit, HS IIII colonis municipibusue eis, in quorum agro id factum erit, dare damnas esto, eiusque pecuniae qui uolet petitio hac lege esto.

K.L. V. Qui hac lege coloniam deduxerit, municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituerit, in eo agro qui ager intra fines eius coloniae municipii fori conciliabuli praefecturae erit, limites decumanique ut fiant terminique statuantur curato; quosque fines ita statuerit, ii fines eorum sunt, dum ne extra agrum colonicum territoriumue fines ducat. Quique termini hac lege statuti erunt, ne quis eorum quem eicito neuē loco moueto sciens dolo malo. Si quis aduersus ea fecerit, is in terminos singulos, quos eiecerit locoue mouerit sciens dolo malo, HS V m(ilia) n(ummum) in publicum eorum, quorum intra fines is ager erit, dare damnas esto: deque ea re curatoris qui hac lege erit iuris dictio reciperatorumque datio addictio esto. Cum curator hac lege non erit, tum quicumque magistratus in ea colonia municipio praefectura foro conciliabulo iure dicundo praeerit, eius magistratus de ea re iuris dictio iudicisque datio addictio esto; inque eam rem is qui hac lege iudicium dederit, testibus publice dumtaxat in res singulas X denuntiandi potestatem facito ita, ut ei e re publica fideque sua uidebitur. Et si is unde ea pecunia petita erit condemnatus erit, eam pecuniam ab eo deue bonis eius primo quoque die exigit: eiusque pecuniae quod receptum erit partem dimidiam ei cuius unius opera maxime is condemnatus erit, dato, partem dimidiam in publicum redigito. Quo ex loco terminus aberit, si quis in eum locum terminum restituere uolet, sine fraude sua liceto facere, neuē quid cui is ob eam rem hac lege dare damnas esto.

It has long been a perplexing problem to discover for these three clauses their proper place in the agrarian legislation of the republic. Most scholars have hitherto attributed them to the Caesarian age, but there has been a tendency of late, especially on the Continent, to find an earlier date, and, in accordance with it, to elaborate an appropriate context for laws usually regarded as the work of Caesar. These attempts have usually been far from successful, leading, as they do, to the construction of imaginary situations, and, as often as not, to a forced and arbitrary interpretation of the documents in question. The occasion for the present paper is another ingenious and in some points attractive attempt on the part of Professor Fabricius of

Freiburg<sup>1</sup> to apply this method of reconstruction to the law of which these chapters form a part. His theory is in my opinion open to both the lines of criticism which I have indicated.

The chapters themselves, belonging, it would seem, to a law brought forward, like that associated with the name of Servilius Rullus, by several members of a tribunician college, have been preserved, as we know from Bruns, p. 95, in a collection of the *Scriptores Gromatici*. They are numbered K.L. III, K.L. IIII, and K.L. V. They all refer on the face of them to the setting up and safeguarding by individual owners or state commissioners or local magistrates of boundaries and landmarks (*limites* and *termini*) within the territories of colonies founded, or *municipia*, *praefecturae*, *fora*, or *conciliabula* 'constituted' by the law.

The second chapter (K.L. IIII) is found word for word in cap. 104 of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, while the third (K.L. V) is cited in full as from an agrarian law 'quam C. Caesar tulit' in the *Digest*, XLVII. 21, 3. *Prima facie*, therefore, there has seemed some reason for connecting these clauses with some part of Caesar's agrarian or colonial legislation, though so far no theory has satisfactorily explained what the exact connexion may be.

But Professor Fabricius has quite a different explanation, suggested it would almost seem in the first instance by the cognomen Limitanus, attributed on no very certain evidence to C. Mamilius, tribune in 109 B.C., as its first holder. Here we have on the one hand a law dealing in all its three extant chapters with the subject of *limites*, and whose principal proposer was named Mamilius; and on the other hand a popular tribune of the year 109, also named Mamilius, who was the author of the anti-senatorial *quaestio Mamilia*, and whose full name has been handed down as C. Mamilius Limitanus. No coincidence would seem more opportune for a new and original hypothesis. As for the other four proposers of the law, who, it is argued, must have belonged to the popular section of the tribunician college for the year, it happens that a L. Roscius and a C. Fabius appear as mint officials about this time, while a Sex. Peducaeus, concerned on the evidence of Livy, Asconius, and Valerius Maximus in the trial of some Vestals, was tribune perhaps in 113, perhaps, as it is contended, a few years later. These coincidences, however, do not carry us very far; while the context of the passage in *De Nat. deor.* III. 17, where in the same sentence Cicero alludes to the *quaestio Coniurationis Iugurthinae* and a *quaestio de incestu rogatione Peducaea*, will show that there is nothing in it to justify the inference that Mamilius and Peducaeus were tribunes in the same year.

But Professor Fabricius has to establish the political or agrarian situation in 109, which called for and explains the law which gave Mamilius his cognomen. To do this he has no alternative but to represent the *Lex Agraria* of 111 as a reactionary measure favourable to the rich and noble classes, and the supposed *Lex Mamilia* as a democratic corrective to this passed only two years later.

As for the reactionary character of the *Lex Agraria*, I have already attempted (*Roman Laws and Charters*, pp. 35 sqq.) to show that there is no justification for regarding it in this light; and although Professor Fabricius describes my arguments as subjective, he does not meet them. His points are that by the working of the Gracchan laws and by the supplementary legislation of 118 and 111 (*App.* I. 27), especially the latter, immense quantities of what had been *ager publicus* before 133 had now become the private property of individuals. Not only had a large number of small holders, perhaps sixty or seventy thousand, received plots of public land from the *IIIuiri*, confirmed to them in 111, but several colonies like Tarentum had been established, and apparently individual prospective colonists had received land, also confirmed in 111, in places not actually colonized. Moreover, some of the larger

<sup>1</sup> *Über die lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, von Ernst Fabricius.

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landowners, as the result of compulsory exchanges, had received parcels of what had once been public land as an equivalent for that taken away from them. To all this has to be added the important change effected in 111, by which the maximum of 500 *iugera* of public land, retained by the old *possessores*, was converted into their private property. According to Professor Fabricius all this land, as long as it remained in the category of *ager publicus*, had not come within the range of the official land surveyors, and was therefore without any precise system of *termini* or *limites*. But now that it had become private land, it was essential that such a system should be made compulsory by law. To effect this object was the primary aim of the *Lex Mamilia*. I may notice in passing a certain inconsistency in our author's presentation of this law. On the one hand he represents it as having a very precise and almost temporary object, while on the other he insists on its extremely general character, contending that Cicero (*De legg.* I. 21, 55) places it in this respect side by side with the provisions of the XII. Tables.

But, to put this on one side, this official and legal delimitation of all the land now made private, overlooked as it was by the law of 111, was vital, in Professor Fabricius' view, to the interests of the smaller owners as against possible encroachments on the part of their rich and noble neighbours. By this method alone could it be determined in particular cases whether the former possessors were keeping to the 500 *iugera* limit, 'quantum unum hominem sibi ex lege plebeie scito sumere relinquere licuit,' while in no other way could the smaller owners feel secure in their new holdings. The law, therefore, which made this delimitation compulsory and general was wholly on Gracchan lines. It was a necessary supplement and corrective to the law of 111, and it well entitled its chief author to his cognomen *Limitanus*.

But, according to our author, there was another point hardly less important which the popular party in the interest of the smaller owners was to gain by this law. The exceptional 'Gracchana iurisdictio,' temporarily set aside by Scipio Africanus, had been definitely abolished by the *Lex Thoria*, when the *Illuiri a. d. a.* disappeared. Accordingly, the law of 111 had made careful provision (vv. 33 sqq.) for a permanent system of jurisdiction to settle all disputes arising from the newly acquired ownership of what had hitherto been public land. All such disputes were in future to be brought before the consuls and praetors, the censors being, in cases where public land was concerned, associated with these magistrates. This arrangement Professor Fabricius very unconvincingly declares to have been contrary to the interests of the poorer owners and wholly favourable to the rich and noble landlords. It was apparently to counteract these aristocratic sympathies of the *Lex Agraria* that the *Lex Mamilia*, so it is argued, combined with its scheme for the delimitation of these newly acquired lands a wide and daring policy of colonial and municipal development, as the result of which all this land would fall within the territory of this or that Italian municipality, and all agrarian jurisdiction would eventually be transferred to the local magistrates of these towns. It was at this juncture in 109 B.C., we are asked to believe, that the democratic party undertook on the one hand an important scheme of colonization and on the other the beginnings of the process, by which towns of peregrine status, primarily perhaps those in whose environment the lands in question lay, were to be 'constituted' into Roman towns, with definitely bounded territories and with constitutional and administrative machinery of the Roman type. To carry out these objects commissioners (*curatores*), as in agrarian laws generally (*De leg. agrar.* II. 17), were appointed, and in their hands was again placed the 'Gracchana iurisdictio,' though, when their work was done, or in places where no curator was sent, 'si curator hac lege non erit,' jurisdiction in respect of all the lands affected was to be put into the hands of the colonial or municipal magistrates, a change definitely cancelling the judicial clauses of the law of 111.

Such was the scope and object of the *Lex Mamilia* as Professor Fabricius interprets it. Its primary aim was to establish a compulsory system of delimitation for all lands which, having been public in 133, had since become private property. But along with this object, and perhaps to make it practicable, though Professor Fabricius does not sufficiently work out this point and leaves his readers to do so for themselves, all the land in question was to be attached to the neighbouring Italian towns, which, in order that their magistrates might be in a position to perform all necessary judicial functions, had to be 'constituted' into full Roman communities.

It is impossible in my opinion to accept the picture drawn for us by Professor Fabricius of the situation in 109, two years after the great agrarian settlement in 111. Neither of the two motives suggested for this new democratic legislation seems to have any foundation in reality. The Gracchan commissioners had been in existence for fifteen years before their disappearance in 118, and we have evidence that among their activities had been included the task of setting up boundary stones to mark the new allotments of public land. We may infer, therefore, that the small holders were already sufficiently protected in this respect, while one would imagine that in the public interest the 500 *iugera* left to the old *possessores* would be officially measured out and entered in the land registers (*tabulae*). The law of 111 created no additional private land except these amounts of 500 *iugera*; and even if the delimitation of these still remained uncompleted, its completion would surely have been as much to the interest of the larger owners themselves as of the smaller. It is therefore difficult to see where the democratic party detected the crying need for this general measure of land termination, which was so important as to furnish a new cognomen for its proposer. Nor is it easier to understand the supposed grievance in connexion with the jurisdiction set up by the law of 111.

The extraordinary judicial powers of the Gracchan *IIIuiri* had been called for by the difficulties attending the resumption of so much public land, and when they were put in abeyance by Scipio, it was in the interest, not of the nobles, but of the Italians. They were restored in 123, and presumably were exercised, when necessary, for five years more. There had therefore been every opportunity to clear away the difficult cases, and when we consider impartially the settlement of 111, and its legal confirmation of all lands made private since 133, the provision made by it for agrarian jurisdiction by no means justifies the suggestion that it was intended to benefit the nobles, or that any restoration of the *Gracchana iurisdictio* was demanded or attempted. But, even if it were conceded that the situation in 109 was what Professor Fabricius represents it to have been, it is not too much to say that in no single point is it confirmed by the three chapters of the law on which he professes to base his theory. When we turn to these we find that the whole hypothesis of a crying need in the interest of the poorer owners for a general delimitation of all the land recently made private crumbles away. It turns out that the primary object of the law must have been, not this general and compulsory delimitation, but what our author regards as secondary or concomitant, the foundation of colonies and the 'constitution' of *municipia*, *praefecturae*, *fora* and *conciliabula*. Thus the first chapter begins: 'Quae colonia hac lege deducta quodue municipium praefectura forum conciliabulum constitutum erit,' and proceeds to direct that, where boundary marks within the territory of the colony or municipium are missing, they shall be set up by the owners of the land, and that the magistrates of the place shall see that it is done. Similarly the third chapter begins: 'Qui hac lege coloniam deduxerit, municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituerit,' and directs that these commissioners shall see to the setting up within the territory of the colony or municipium of *limites* and *decumani*, while it goes on to specify the penalties for neglect or violation of these obligations, placing the necessary judicial procedure in such cases in the hands of the *curatores*, or failing them, of the magistrates of the colony or *municipium*. That the

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second chapter also equally assumes the setting up of *limites*, and their maintenance free from obstructions of all kinds to be consequent on the foundation of a colony is proved by the fact that we find it repeated word for word in cap. 104 of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*. I take these considerations to be conclusive against the view that what was prescribed by this law was a general and compulsory delimitation of all land made private since 133. On the contrary, the only lands on which these *limites* were to be set up and maintained were the territories of those particular towns, which were colonized or 'constituted' by the law itself. Such regulations no more imply a democratic protest against a reactionary law than did the insertion of one of these chapters in the charter of Caesar's colony in Spain.

As to the question of jurisdiction, a reference to the actual regulations contained in the third of these chapters will show at once that they are out of all relation to the judicial clauses in the *Lex Agraria* of 111. The latter are concerned with the settlement of disputes by the consuls and praetors in connexion with the ownership of all lands made private property since 133. The former merely specify the penalties for failing to set up or maintain *limites*, and place the judicial procedure in such cases in the hands of curators or the local magistrates. How these apparently simple regulations can have been so misread as to suggest the view that the agrarian jurisdiction assigned in the *Lex Agraria* to the consuls and praetors was transferred by them to the municipal magistrates, and how a new political situation can have been manufactured out of them, I confess that for my part I find it difficult to understand.

That the primary object of the *Lex Mamilia*, as far as it can be gathered from its three extant chapters, was the 'deduction' of colonies and the 'constitution' of *municipia praefecturae fora* and *conciliabula*, we have already seen, and it remains to consider whether either of these activities was in any way appropriate to the year 109 B.C. The younger Gracchus had put forward a scheme for the establishment of 'many colonies' in Italy. The carrying out of this scheme, accompanied by a completed system of road construction, would have gone far towards ensuring the success of the agrarian legislation, as ready access to market towns would thereby have been secured to the small holders. But it is clear that the scheme failed. Colonies were established at Tarentum and Scylacium, and apparently some isolated colonists were sent elsewhere, but that was all. The main reason for this failure must have been that there was no public land, and especially no contiguous public land, available for colonies. It was no doubt part of the scheme of C. Gracchus eventually to secure the necessary land by resuming that portion of public land which was occupied on terms of corporate *possessio* by Italian communities. But an antecedent condition has been still, as in 125, the bestowal of the Roman citizenship, as compensation for the loss of the land (App. I. 21). But this policy had miscarried, the land had not been available, and by the law of 111 the occupation and usufruct of their lands had been legally guaranteed to the Italian towns (*Lex Agraria* V. 30 sqq.). Livius Drusus, twenty years later, may have contemplated the resumption of this land for colonies (App. I. 35), and Sulla certainly took it for his military colonization in 81 (App. I. 100); but in 109 such a step was surely out of the question, and nine years later, when Saturninus required colonies for the old soldiers of Marius, he made no attempt to find the necessary land in Italy. I do not, therefore, find it possible to believe that in 109 any law by any party was passed for the foundation of colonies in Italy.

With regard to the 'constitution' of *municipia praefecturae fora* and *conciliabula* (an object which stands in the law parallel with that of colonization), the view held by Professor Fabricius is to all appearances somewhat vague and indeterminate. But one point seems clear—viz., that the process applied to towns of peregrine status and that on its completion they were endowed with the Roman *civitas*. It was therefore on this view, at least, a step towards the enfranchisement of Italy. Is it possible to

assign such a step to the year 109? When we remember on the one hand the fact that Fulvius Flaccus in 125 and C. Gracchus in 122 had been compelled to relinquish their schemes of enfranchisement owing to general opposition, and on the other that Saturninus in 100 was unable to provide anything more than a back-door admission to a certain number of individual Italians, while Livius Drusus in 91 failed to carry out his promised measure of enfranchisement, it seems to me that the year 109 must be decisively ruled out as wholly unsuited to such a policy on the part of Mamilius and his colleagues as that attributed to them by Professor Fabricius.

But I would go further than this, for not only does his theory contradict the historical situation at the time, but the very phrase 'municipium praefecturam forum conciliabulum constituere' is, in my opinion, inapplicable to the period antecedent to the Social War. As he tells us, the term 'constituere' in its technical sense of framing a constitution for a town was familiar in Cicero's day, though he mentions no instance except that of Arpinum in 46 (Cic. *Ad Fam.* XIII. 11). The question is whether it was used, or could be used, in the same sense in the period before the enfranchisement of Italy. Professor Fabricius is not very explicit as to what 'constituere' exactly connoted, but, as we have seen, he certainly makes it include the grant of the Roman franchise to the town 'constituted.' I submit that this is not the sense in which the term is used in Cicero's time. Arpinum, to take his own instance, had long been a Roman *municipium*. So, too, was Tarentum, in connexion with which fragments of the 'constituting' charter have been preserved, while any other towns 'constituted' during this period would, of course, have already received the franchise through the operation of the *Lex Iulia de civitate* of 89 B.C. In fact, the 'constitution' of a town implied, as far as the evidence is available, its previous enfranchisement, and was therefore inapplicable to the year 109, when Italian communities, with the exception of existing Roman colonies and a certain number of towns like Arpinum, were still of peregrine status. The conclusion, therefore, to which these various considerations lead, is the rejection of the ingenious theory put forward by Professor Fabricius, as inconsistent alike with the political and agrarian situation in the years immediately following the *Lex Agraria* of 111, and with a critical interpretation of the three chapters of the *Lex Mamilia* which have been preserved.

As to the real date of the law or the place which it may have occupied in any legislative programme of its time, I have no new theory of my own to propound. But when we bear in mind (i.) that colonization was the principal feature of Caesar's agrarian measures in 63, 59, and in his dictatorship; (ii.) that Caesar's interest in giving logical effect to the enfranchisement of Italy is shown by his municipal law, and especially by the last paragraph of the Table of Heraclea, which implies the recent sending out of commissioners to 'constitute' *municipia fundana*; (iii.) that the description of the towns to be 'constituted' in the *Lex Mamilia* corresponds exactly with those of enfranchised Italy in the *Lex Iulia Municipalis*, and with those of the enfranchised Gallia Cisalpina in the *Lex Rubria*; (iv.) that Caesar's care for the setting up of boundaries within a colonial territory is proved by the insertion of the second of these chapters in the charter of his Spanish colony; and finally, that the last chapter of the three is headed in the Digest with the words 'lege agraria quam C. Caesar tulit—' when we bear in mind all these points, there seems sufficient *prima facie* reason for attributing this law to Caesar's period, possibly to Caesar's initiative. The *Lex Mamilia* may just as well have been a part of Caesar's legislation as the *Leges Vatinae*, or as the *Lex Acilia* and *Lex Rubria* were of the Gracchan policy. We really have little detailed knowledge of the exact scope of Caesar's two agrarian laws in 59 B.C. What we do know is that in 63 he had in view an extensive scheme of Italian colonization, and yet that the second law of 59 resulted, as far as is known, in no more than two colonies, and seems to have dealt only with the *ager Campanus*

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(conf. *Lex Campana*). It seems no unreasonable hypothesis to suggest that in some year between 59 and 52, after which the breach with Pompey would have made it impossible, Caesar may have put into the hands of tribunes favourable to his cause the further promotion of his scheme for the establishment of colonies, and at the same time the task of speeding up the 'constitution' of the enfranchised towns by sending out commissioners. The latter provision would not unnaturally find a place in an agrarian law, as the present fragment and the clause in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* prove that the delimitation of land was one of the functions falling upon commissioners or *deductores*, and there were probably clauses to the same effect, in addition to that concerning roads, dykes and sewers (*Lex Mun. Tarent. V.*), in the lost portion of the charter of Tarentum. Whether the suggestion which I tentatively put forward can be in any way substantiated by the identification of all or some of the five tribunes mentioned in the title of our fragment is a question into which I cannot pretend to enter.

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Dr. Max Cary has made a valuable contribution towards the solution of this part of the problem in a paper appearing in the *Journal of Philology* (Vol. XXXV. pp. 184 sqq.). He points out that L. Roscius and A. Allienus were colleagues in the praetorship in 49 B.C., and that Sex Peducaeus was governor of Sardinia in 48. Whether Peducaeus after the 'Lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum' could have been praetor the year before is perhaps open to some doubt, but Roscius certainly passed an important law for Caesar in his praetorship. But, though this year was entirely appropriate to the passing of a law providing for the 'constitution' of the newly enfranchised towns in Gallia Cisalpina, I do not feel sure that such provisions would be likely to be added to a law for the future establishment of transmarine colonies like that at Urso or the military settlements in Gaul and Spain. I should prefer, if the evidence allowed, to limit the operation of the law to Italy, and to find an earlier date for it, perhaps in the year when these praetors of 49 may have been colleagues in the tribuneship. But I gather from his phrase 'the foundation of colonies *municipia praefecturae*, etc.,' that Dr. Max Cary assigns a different meaning to the term 'municipium constituere' from that which I have assumed throughout my paper.

## FLOSCVLI PHILOXENEI.

THE purpose of the following notes is to draw attention to certain glosses in the Philoxenus glossary, and to discuss points arising out of them. The numeration of the glosses is that adopted in the forthcoming critical edition of this important bilingual dictionary.

### FLAGRATVS SVM.

Gloss FL 7 in Philoxenus reads as follows :

Flagro, flagratus sum : Καίτοι.

In the Latin *Thesaurus* (846, 44) *flagratus* is explained as a passive form, but it is hard to see what justification there is for this. Active verbs with deponent perfects were quite common in early Latin, and in many cases, though active perfects gradually superseded the older forms, the old deponents survived as adjectives (e.g. *maestus*, *tacitus*).<sup>1</sup> It is more reasonable, therefore, to see in *flagratus sum* a genuine deponent perfect of *flagro* used by some early Republican writer ; and since Philoxenus derived his relics of early Latin from Festus, it can scarcely be doubted that FL 7 is a Festus gloss. In the full original Philoxenus glossary there may even have been a quotation from or reference to an early writer, with which Festus would have illustrated the archaic form of perfect.<sup>2</sup>

### CELTIS.

It has been a matter of some dispute in recent years whether there existed in Latin a genuine word *celtis* (or *celtes*) from which our own English 'celt' is derived. The writer of the article in the Oxford *English Dictionary* (s.v. *celt*) inclines to the belief that *celtis* was a phantom word, and that its occurrence in a few late medieval writers is ultimately due to their acquaintance with a passage in the Vulgate version of Job xix. 24, in which the MSS. reading *celte*, not *certe*, was to be found.<sup>3</sup> The word *celtis* is, however, admitted as a genuine form into the Latin *Thesaurus*, and this admission is there justified by two passages from the veterinary writer Chiron (16 and 693). This justification is weak, for in one passage the MS. reading is *celle*, in the other *cella*, so that the word has been accepted in the dictionary on the strength of two emendations.

The readings of various extant Vulgate MSS. in Job xix. 24 have been exhaustively considered in two recent articles by Professor Burkitt, who argues that *certe* is the right reading both in Job and in Jerome's tract *adu. Johannem* 30. In a postscript to the former article there is also an emendation by Professor Housman of the passages in Chiron ; he would read *securicella* in both passages.<sup>4</sup>

A further question, however, arises at this point : the first antiquarian to coin the English word 'celt' must have found a Latin form *celtis* somewhere. That he should take it from the Vulgate is, to say the least, improbable ; but he may well have found

<sup>1</sup> These verbs have been investigated by J. B. Hofmann in a Greifswald dissertation (1910), *De verbis quae in prisca Latinitate exstant deponentibus* ; cf. also Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* 522 ; *Class. Quart.* VII. 9.

<sup>2</sup> There are of course a number of references to early authors even in Philoxenus as now preserved ; and in Cyrillus several quotations, e.g.

from Terence, have been preserved, pointing to Festus as the source, though these are not in the Paris MS. of Philoxenus.

<sup>3</sup> This view is accepted by Professor W. M. Lindsay, *Textual Emendation*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Theol. Stud.* XVII., pp. 389 sq. ; *ibid.* XXII., p. 380.

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it in Du Cange or, failing that, in some earlier dictionary dating from the period of the Renaissance. The compiler of such a dictionary would draw on earlier compilations, which in turn had been put together mainly from glossaries.<sup>1</sup>

The Philoxenus glossary contains an entry which has been ignored by all who have attempted to trace the history of this word. Gloss CE 23 appears in the sole early MS. of Philoxenus (saec. IX.) as

Celtis : ῥίνα ἰχθύος εἶδος,

but the Philoxenus glossary as now preserved contains but a portion of the material collected in the original version of this great bilingual dictionary. A number of items not found in the present Philoxenus can be recovered from the kindred Cyrillus glossary and other sources, as Lindsay has conclusively shown.<sup>2</sup> One of the commonest phenomena in the Philoxenus glossary is the fusion into one of two or more items which in the original dictionary were separate entries. Moreover, Bible glosses are fairly numerous in Philoxenus, as will be shown conclusively when the critical edition of the work, which is now in the press, has been published. We are therefore justified in seeing in the entry CE 23 a fusion of two glosses, which appeared in the parent glossary thus:

Celtis : ῥίνα,

Celtis (?) : ἰχθύος εἶδος,<sup>3</sup>

and we are further justified in assigning the first gloss to Job xix. 24. Furthermore, Lindsay surmised some years ago that the compiler of the original Philoxenus glossary used the Itala version of the Bible, and that this assumption was correct is proved by a comparison of all the Bible glosses in the present Philoxenus. In many cases the Latin lemma corresponds to the Vulgate word; but this causes no surprise, since Jerome incorporated a very great deal of Itala material in his translation. On the other hand, in a number of glosses, where the Bible attribution can be regarded as certain, the lemma word comes from the Itala, not from the Vulgate.

The occurrence of *celtis* in Philoxenus thus affords far earlier evidence for the genuineness, or at least the early acceptance of the word as genuine, than that furnished by MSS. of the Vulgate. For though the present Philoxenus is preserved in a MS. of the ninth century, the evidence of the Harleian MS. of Cyrillus (saec. VII.) and the Cologne papyrus fragment prove that the original or proto-Philoxenus was compiled not later than the sixth century.

The supposed derivation of the word from *caelare* is found in the fourteenth-century writer Guilelmus Britonus, but it must be remembered that the equation *e = ae* was already well established many centuries earlier, in Jerome's day.<sup>4</sup> If then Jerome had found the word *celtis* in an earlier Bible text, he would naturally derive it from *caelare*. It seems impossible without further evidence to decide whether the word was ever genuine or whether it was already a 'ghost word' in the time of Jerome. But that he wrote *uel celte* in translating the passage from Job seems highly probable. For though, as Professor Burkitt has shown, the earlier MSS. mainly support the reading *uel certe*, the emendation of *celte* to *certe* is one that would be made very early in view of the rareness of the former word. And, once made, the emendation would hold the field for the most part against the earlier reading.

<sup>1</sup> On Bible glossaries compiled from the ninth century onwards, and on late medieval dictionaries; cf. Goetz, *C.G.L.* I. 217 sqq., 236 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Class. Rev.* XXXI. 188.

<sup>3</sup> For the form of the second gloss we may compare AT 8 (Atharna : ἰχθύος εἶδος) and AQ 3 (Aquipenser : εἶδος ἰχθύος), the latter being a Festus gloss (cf. Paul. 20, 26). What the correct

form of the second lemma word was it is difficult to surmise.

<sup>4</sup> The pertinent passage in Britonus, quoted in Du Cange (s.v. *celtis*), is: 'Celtis : instrumentum ferreum aptum ad scalpendum, cisel Gallice, dicitur a celando, sed nusquam est in Biblia, unde Iob 19 ubi quidam legunt,' etc.

## REPOTIA.

RE 169 Reoria : ἡ τρίτη τῶν [α]γάμων, ποδοστρόφια.

187 Reperidia : ἐπιποδο (ἐπίβδα), ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ποδοστροφ[ε]ία.

209 Reproca : ἐπίβδα, ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἑόρτη&lt;ν&gt;.

It is remarkable that, though there are no less than three glosses in Philoxenus explaining one and the same word, *repotia*, the lemma is in each case corrupt.

A comparison of the second with Porphyrius' brief note on Horace, *Sat.* II. 2, 60 (*R.* 'dicebatur dies post nuptias'), justifies us in regarding it as a Horace gloss, though the interpretation of glosses from this author in Philoxenus are more usually wholly or partly in Latin.

In ps.-Acro there are no less than five comments on the word, and of these the first and the third are particularly interesting for our purpose:

Repotia sunt quae Graeci dicunt ποδοστρόφια aut mutuae inuitationes.

R. dicuntur dies qui secuntur nuptias, quando mutuis conuiuibus se frequenter inuitant.

Now the words here printed in italics suggest that ps.-Acro, or the earlier commentator whom he followed, was attempting to translate literally and account for the Greek word ποδοστρόφια, a word for which there appears to be no authority apart from the instances cited above. Festus, however (350, 13), drawing on Verrius Flaccus or an earlier source, clearly stresses the renewal of the carouse two days after the marriage, for he says, *Repotia postridie nuptias apud nouum maritum cenatur, quia quasi reficitur potatio*. The first gloss from Philoxenus, RE 169, is in all probability a shortened version of Festus. It would thus seem as if a Greek word had been coined—not very happily, it is true—to reproduce the essential meaning of *repotia*; and we should in fact read in both Philoxenus and ps.-Acro ποτοστρόφια. Admittedly it is a queer formation to bear the meaning 'a return to drinking,' but it is no stranger than ποδοστρόφια as an equivalent for *mutuae inuitationes*. The latter form, if it means anything, should signify 'feet-twisting,'<sup>1</sup> and if we are to retain it we must see in it a prophetic allusion to the results of *repotia*! The explanation in the Bobbio fragment (*Repotia* : λυσιπόδια), the contents of which are closely allied to Charisius, would lend support to ποδοστρόφια if there were any other authority for λυσιπόδια. As it is, it may itself be corrupt. The provenance of the third Philoxenus gloss is more doubtful. It is tempting to assign it to Apuleius (*Apol.* 59), but as there are no glosses in Philoxenus which can be assigned with certainty to this author, it is perhaps safer to see in RE 209 a split of RE 187, or an additional comment to that gloss by the compiler himself.

## STLATTARIVS.

The Philoxenus glossary has preserved the following two glosses:

SI 32 Silatarus (stlattarius) : πλάινος.

ST 64 Stlactarius : ἐργόμωκος.

The former is assigned by Goetz to Juvenal (VII. 134) with reasonable probability; but the scholiast on Juvenal informs us with regard to *stlattaria*, 'Probus exponit illecebrosa,' while Valla on the same line cites a verse from Ennius (*Ann.* 240). On the other hand, in the extant portion of Festus (410, 34) *stlatia* is derived from *latus*, 'broad. Gloss ST 65, the neighbour of *stlactarius*, which reads,

Stlat<t>a : πειρατικού σκάφους εἶδος,

<sup>1</sup> The dictionaries actually give ποδοστράβη snare or an instrument of torture. and ποδόστροφον in this literal sense, i.e. a foot-

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is clearly a shortened form of Festus' explanation. Probus' comment, however, shows that he derived the word from *lacto*, equivalent to *illicio*, so that there were clearly two etymologies of the word current in antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The fact that *stactarius* and *stlat* < *t* > *a* are neighbours in Philoxenus inclines one to the belief that the former, ST 64, was also a Festus gloss. For it is highly probable that the derivation given by Probus was also to be found in a lost portion of Festus; and there are many instances in Philoxenus where two explanations from the same or different passages in Festus have become separated, or where we can recover lost items from Festus by the help of the glossary.<sup>2</sup>

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

<sup>1</sup> The entry in the *Glossae Nominum* (S. : qui alium sermonibus errare facit) is merely an attempt to reproduce the Greek ἐργατικός in Latin; for *Gloss. Nom.* is largely (or wholly)

compiled from Philoxenus material.

<sup>2</sup> This question will be discussed more fully in the introduction to the edition of Philoxenus.

### ANTIAE.

THE Dative or Ablative of this 'plurale tantum' (Charisius 33, 7 and 549, 1) was used by one of the earlier Republican writers. It is quoted by Ps.-Placidus (see *Journ. Phil.* 34, 254) from a MS. which had the marginal note 'capillis muliebribus ante, id est a fronte, pendentibus.' These marginal notes were often direct traditions from the earliest glossographi, the 'glossematum scriptores,' who provided material also for Varro and Verrius Flaccus, either directly or through the writings of earlier grammatici.

Now Verrius Flaccus discussed the word. For the recovery of his interpretation we are dependent upon the resuscitation of the lost item in his epitomator Festus. In Paulus' epitome of Festus we read (16, 3): 'Antiae muliebres capilli, demissi in frontem, appellati ex Graeco videntur: quod enim nos contra, illi ἀντίον dicunt.' To supplement this meagre reproduction of Festus, we turn to an item (taken from this very paragraph of Festus) in the *Abolita* glossary. In *C.G.L.* IV. 17, 26 this item is wrongly presented. Goetz gives merely an apograph of the older of the two MSS. of *Abolita* and relegates to the *apparatus criticus* the reading of the younger. In the older MS. the *Abolita* item has been ousted by the *Abstrusa* item: 'Antiae: capilli quos mulieres in capite componunt' (*C.G.L.* IV. 18, 34), an item which has nothing to do with Festus, and may have come from a scholium (of Donatus?) on *Geo.* 2, 417 (*antes*). The younger MS. retains in part the *Abolita* interpretation: 'ab eo quod ante pendeant id est tantemne.' With the help, however, of a glossary, which I am studying for Professor Lindsay, in *Vat. Lat.* 1469 foll. 162-223, we can get a better idea of the real original *Abolita* item which was taken from Festus. The item in this glossary reads: 'Antiae: capilli sunt ad tempora inmissi: dicti ab eo quod ante pendeant id est ante eant.'

The expression 'ad tempora' of *Abolita* invites comparison with the 'prope aurículas' of Isidore's interpretation (*Etym.* XIX. xxxi. 8): 'Antiae sunt cincinni dependentes prope aurículas: Graeco uocabulo ab auribus.' Both Isidore and *Abolita* regard 'antiae' as belonging to the region of the temples: the *Abolita* item is certainly to be referred to Festus (it occurs in a Festus batch): and as Festus material is common in Isidore, it is probable that his account too goes back to the same source. Paulus, however, refers 'antiae' to the brow ('ad frontem demissi') and gives a derivation (ἀντίον) to suit. Isidore attempts to give a derivation ('ab

auribus') consistent with his 'prope auriculas' interpretation, a derivation so weak that he seems to have misunderstood his source. *Abolita* adds to its 'ad tempora' explanation, a derivation ('ante') much more appropriate to an explanation 'ad frontem.' It may be that Verrius Flaccus received from the early glossographi two interpretations placing 'antiae' respectively at the brow and at the temples; and that he suggested two derivations, one of which, as reproduced by Festus, Isidore failed to grasp.

One of these old interpretations, as we have seen, has been preserved independently by Ps.-Placidus. The other is probably to be found in the Philoxenus Glossary (C.G.L. II. 21, 22). 'Antiae: κόμαι αἱ διὰ τῶν κροτάφων κρεμάμεναι γυναικείαι.' This item Philoxenus took, not from Festus, but from Charisius; and Charisius' material, like that of Ps.-Placidus, frequently comes from the early glossographi. The interpretation is identical with that in the Charisius excerpt preserved in the unique MS. Vienna 16, though this MS. has, by error, omitted the word γυναικείαι. This origin of the Philoxenus item is proved by its form in the Cyrillus Glossary (C.G.L. II. 352, 43), for the phrase 'singulare non habet' is there added, and in the Charisius excerpts the word appears in a list of 'pluralia tantum.'

For 'antiae,' therefore, we have (1) the explanations of the early glossographi reaching us through Ps.-Placidus and the Charisius excerpt; (2) similar explanations dealt with by Verrius Flaccus; (3) a third explanation, coming perhaps through a scholium on Vergil and eventually reaching *Abstrusa*. All the glosses (s.v.) in Goetz' *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum* attach themselves to one or another of these lines of descent. The article in the great Latin Thesaurus requires rewriting now that these glossary threads can be disentangled; for the authors there quoted, Apuleius, Mart. Capella, and Tertullian, take their strange words from the glossaries of their period, and are not independent authorities for the meaning of 'antiae.'

We have seen that some early author of the Republican period used the case-form 'antiis' in the sense of 'women's ringlets.' There is a trace of the occurrence of the noun in another sense. The Cyrillus Glossary has a second item (C.G.L. II. 459, 56), which I print in its original form (i.e. reversed). 'Antiae: τρίχες αἱ μετὰ τῶν κεράτων τῶν βοῶν.' Since Festus- not Donatus-material is to be looked for in the bilingual (Greek and Latin) glossaries, we may find here an additional sentence of the Festus paragraph. Which was the original sense? Was it a word of woman's toilette? Or was it a cattle-farm word?

I have to thank Professor Lindsay for much help in the compilation of this article.

J. W. PIRIE.

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal*  
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## SOME FACTS ABOUT OUR OLDEST LATIN MANUSCRIPTS.

A FEW years ago Professor Souter made the suggestion that the curious custom of beginning each page of a MS., or each column of a page, with a large letter might be of African origin. He was struck with this feature while examining a fragment, newly acquired for the British Museum, of the celebrated Codex Palatinus of the Gospels (formerly at Vienna, MS. 1185, now at Trent), which is supposed to give us the African text of the New Testament.<sup>1</sup> In reply to the suggestion, the present writer submitted a list of eighteen MSS. in which this usage is illustrated.<sup>2</sup> As most of the MSS. are manifestly Italian, the African origin of the practice was shown to be untenable. Quite recently another theory has been put forward, localizing the practice within still narrower limits. According to Professor Weinberger, the use of a capital at the beginning of each page would seem to be a peculiarity of MSS. coming from Cassiodore's library at Vivarium; and he proceeded to use this feature as a touchstone for detecting *Codices Vivarienses*.<sup>3</sup> Impressed by the unusual interest attaching to this feature, I began to assemble all the instances I had, and to look for others. I collected a list of nearly fifty items, an inspection of which showed me at once that in registering the phenomenon under discussion I had unwittingly drawn up a list of very ancient MSS. The list does not, to be sure, hold all our oldest MSS., but most of those it holds are, as will be seen, among the oldest. In other words, the use of a large letter at the beginning of each page is clearly a custom of very great antiquity. This being so, it seemed useful to interrogate these MSS. further, in order to ascertain what other practices they have of interest to palaeographers.

Most of our oldest Latin MSS., especially of the classics, have been carefully studied and minutely described in prefaces and special articles by scholars like Mommsen, Studemund, Ehrle, Hauler, Chatelain, Traube, and others. And equally great experts have given us exact details about the oldest MSS. of the Bible. But so far as I know, there exists no single study which collects, verifies, and correlates the palaeographical data imbedded in these various dissertations. While such a comprehensive study must still remain a desideratum, it may be serviceable to make an attempt, even of a tentative and partial kind, in the direction of bringing together some facts concerning our oldest Latin MSS. I therefore propose to examine this series of nearly fifty MSS., and to focus attention upon a few of the features they present. These are:

1. The use of a capital at the beginning of each page or column, irrespective of its position in the word or sentence.
2. The manner of indicating omitted *m* and *n* at the end of a line.
3. The use of running titles in the top margin.
4. The size and disposition of the written space.
5. The manner of signing quires.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies* XXIII. (1922), pp. 284 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> W. Weinberger, 'Handschriften von Vivarium' in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, Vol. IV., pp. 77 sqq. (Rome, 1924). Here five new items are added to my list of eighteen; but my own notes on Pal. Lat. 1631 do not quite bear out

Professor Weinberger's observations. According to Mgr. Mercati, who was good enough to examine the MS. for me anew, the large letter is found only on a few pages. The rule is for pages to begin with the ordinary sized letter. The occasional use of the large letter may be taken as a hint that the Codex Palatinus is more recent than the Codex Vaticanus (No. 2 of our list).

A few remarks about the material examined will be needed by way of preface. Though the list of MSS. and fragments of MSS. illustrating the phenomenon which is the point of departure for this article can make no claim to exhaustiveness, it is probably fairly complete. For my notes on MSS. in Rustic capitals and uncial and half-uncial script cover, I believe, the great majority of such MSS. of which we have knowledge. Three of those in my list are known to me only through facsimiles: the Turin MSS. destroyed in the fire of 1904, the MS. from Petrograd, and the one from León. The others I have had in my hands, and was able to examine them with some care.<sup>1</sup> Certain palimpsests, owing to the use of reagents, are now very difficult to decipher. In such cases I have had to accept earlier results obtained by others who saw more and better. Other MSS. have suffered from the ravages of time or

<sup>1</sup> For various kind services in supplying me with new observations or verifying my own I am indebted to Mgr. Mercati, Mgr. Carusi, Professor D'Elia, Professor Schiaparelli, Profes-

sor Maleyn, and especially to Dom C. Mohlberg, who at a great cost of time carefully inspected a number of palimpsests for me.

\* The asterisk indicates that the manuscript is palimpsest.

Italics are reserved for MSS. in which the initial large letter occurs sporadically, or is found regularly one part of the MS. and not in another.

*Frag.* (in the column marked 'Contents') indicates that the evidence for the use of the initial large letter

No.	Press mark.	Contents.	Script.	Date.	Large letters begin.	Omission of final <i>us</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>indicant</i> by	Yes and <i>n</i> distinguished.	
1	Vatic. 3256 (St. Denis) + Berlin 2° 416	VIRGIL ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Square capitals	Saec. V	Each page; huge capitals amounting to ornamental initials	—	—	Yes	Non
2	Vatic. 3225 ... ..	VIRGIL	Rustic	IV	Each page	—	— (once f. 70)	No	App ca tig M In s ta
3	Florence Laur. 39. 1 (Bobbio)	VIRGIL	Rustic	V Ante 494 A.D.	Many pages, but not all	—	—		
4	Vatic. Palat. 1631 (Lorsch?)	VIRGIL	Rustic	V	Only a few pages	—	—		
5	* Naples IV. A. 8 (Bobbio) + Naples s.n. (olim Vienna 16)	LUCAN ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Very large Rustic	IV	Each page	—	—		In l
6	* Vatic. 5750 (Bobbio)	PERSIUS-JUVENAL ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Rustic	V	Each page	—	—		In ca
7	* Orleans 192 (Fleury) + Berlin 4° 364 + Regin. 1283B	SALLUST ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Rustic	V	Each column	—	—	No	
8	* Vatic. Regin. 2077 ...	CICERO	Rustic	IV	Each column; the first letter only a trifle larger	—	—	No	In ca
9	* Turin A II. 2* (Bobbio)	CICERO ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Rustic	IV	Each page	—	—	No	In ca
10	* Vatic. Palat. 24 ...	LIVY Book 91 ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Rustic	V	First column regularly, but occasionally both columns	—	—	Yes	In ca
11	* Verona XL (38) (Luxeuil)	LIVY First decade	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—		Sm
12	Paris 5730 (Avellino)...	LIVY Third decade	Uncial	V	Many columns, but not all	—	—		Sm

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# SOME FACTS ABOUT OUR OLDEST LATIN MANUSCRIPTS 199

the binder's shears, and having lost their margins, lack all, or nearly all, data as to quire marks, running titles, size of written space, or manner of indicating omitted *m* or *n*. In such cases the absence of data is indicated by dotted lines. It seemed instructive to have the facts presented in tabular form, as certain relations emerge from a table, which might otherwise remain unobserved. The order followed is roughly chronological by authors and scripts. Ten items are in square or Rustic capitals, thirty-six in uncials, and one in semi-uncial. The MSS. in Rustic (and square) capitals have been given precedence over those in uncial and half-uncial, simply because as a script Rustic writing is older than uncial. This does not, however, mean that all the MSS. in Rustic capitals are older than those in uncials. As a matter of fact there is ground for believing that several of those in Rustic capitals are not so old as the oldest uncial MSS. on the list. I have intentionally divided the twenty-six classical items from the twenty-one biblical and patristic ones, so as to bring out at a glance what extant MSS. of classic or Christian writers show the curious custom of the initial large letter on each page.

furnished by a fragment. The fragment may be typical of the whole MS., but it is, of course, possible that parts now lost did not show the practice in question. Quire marks are found, unless otherwise stated, in the lower right corner of the final page of the gathering.

Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>n</i> indicated by	<i>m</i> and <i>n</i> distinguished.	Running title.	Size of written space.	Number of lines.	Number of columns.	Quire marks.	Miscellaneous Remarks.	No.
—	—	Yes	None	250 × 265 mm.	20	1	None occur on the extant folios	The MS. has the earliest known initials	1
—	—	No	Apparently Rustic capitals, only vestiges remain (teste Mohlberg)	160 × 160	21	1	Roman numerals (teste Mohlberg)	Rests of quire mark <i>unni</i> are seen on f. 7 <sup>v</sup> . Rests of running title on f. 35 (LIB III), 71, 72	2
—	—		In small Rustic capitals	170 × 120	29	1			3
—	—			205 × 185	23	1			4
—	—		In Rustic capitals	180 × 230	15	1	None occur in the extant fragment	I regard this script Rustic, not square capitals. The MS. has very wide margins	5
—	—		In small Rustic capitals	170 × 155	26	1	.....	Final letter on the page is large	6
—	—	No	.....	180 × 180	21	2	.....		7
—	—	No	In small Rustic capitals	<i>Circa</i> 170 × 170	20	2	.....		8
—	—	No	In small Rustic capitals	<i>Circa</i> 150 × 140	13	1		Very wide margins	9
—	—	Yes	In small Rustic capitals (?)	140 × 105	30	2	.....	Words are divided at end of lines in the Greek style	10
—	—		Small uncials	160 × 175	30	2	q̄ xxxiii	A few pages have the last letter large	11
—	—		Small uncials	170 × 175	26	2	Roman numeral preceded by a bracket.		12

No.	Press mark.	Contents.	Script.	Date.	Large letters begin.	Omission of final <i>ss</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>ss</i> indicated by	<i>ss</i> and <i>ss</i> distinguished.	
13	Vatic. 10696 ...	LIVY Fourth decade (Frag.)	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—	No	Sm
14	Vienna 15 (Lorsch) ...	LIVY Fifth decade	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—	No	Sm
15	* Vatic. 5757 (Bobbio)	CICERO <i>De Rep.</i>	Uncial	IV/V	Each column, but only on some pages	—	—	No	Sm
16	Vienna 1 <sup>a</sup> ...	PLINY Hist. Nat. (Frag.)	Uncial	V	Each column	.....	.....		
17	* Rome Vitt. Eman. 2099 (Sessor. 55) (Nonantola)	PLINY Hist. Nat.	Uncial	V	Each page				
18	* St. Paul in Carinthia XXV. 2. 36 (olim XXV. a. 3)	PLINY Hist. Nat.	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—		Sm ta
19	New York Morgan MS M462 (Meaux)	THE YOUNGER PLINY Epist.	Uncial	V/VI	Each page	—	—	No	Sm ta
20	* Vatic. 5750 (Bobbio) + Milan E 147 sup.	FRONTO	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—	No	Sm
21	* Paris 12161 (Corbie)	ASPER (Frag.)	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—	No	Sm
22	Vienna I ...	ULPIAN (Frag.)	Uncial	V ex.	Each page				Sm ta
23	* Verona XV (13) ...	GAIUS	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	.	—	Yes, as a rule	No
24	* Vatic. 5766 (Bobbio) + Turin A ii 2	FRAGM. ANTE-JUSTINIAN	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—	No	Sm
25	Florence Laur. s.n. ...	JUSTINIAN DIGESTS	Uncial	VI	Each page in part of the MS., even in Greek text	.	—	Yes	No
26	* Verona LXII (60) ...	FRAGM. CODICIS JUSTINIANI	Uncial	VI	Each column				
27	Paris 17725 (Corbie) ...	GOSPELS Codex Corbeiensis	Uncial	V	Each column, with some exceptions	—	—	No	Sm
28	Naples s.n. (olim Vienna 1235)	GOSPELS Codex Purpureus	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—	No	Sm
29	Trent s.n. (olim Vienna 1185)+ Dublin Trin. Coll. NN. IV. 18+Lon- don Add. MS. 40, 107	GOSPELS Codex Palatinus purpureus	Uncial	V ex.	Each column	—	—	No	Sq
30	* Vatic. 5763 (Bobbio) + Wolfenbüttel Weiss. 64	JOB Judges	Uncial	V ex.	Each page	—	—	No	
31	* Milan Ambros. C 73 inf. (Bobbio)	LUKE (Frag.)	Uncial	V ex.	Each column	—	—	No	Sm
32	* Paris 6400 G (Fleury)	ACTS AND APOCALYPSE (Frag.)	Uncial	V	Each page	...	...		

## SOME FACTS ABOUT OUR OLDEST LATIN MANUSCRIPTS 201

Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>n</i> indicated by	<i>m</i> and <i>n</i> distinguished.	Running title.	Size of written space.	Number of lines.	Number of columns.	Quire marks.	Miscellaneous remarks.	No.
—	—	No	Small uncials	205 × 190	30	2	q̄ xu		13
—	—	No	Small uncials	245 × 145	29	1	q̄ xuiii		14
—	—	No	Small uncials	170 × 160	15	2	q̄ xiii		15
.....	.....		.....	.....	Circa 35	2	.....		16
					21				17
—	—		Small Rustic capitals	145 × 80	26	1	q̄ xii	Last letter is large on a number of pages	18
—	—	No	Small Rustic capitals	170 × 140	27	1			19
—	—	No	Small uncials	168 × 165	25	2	Roman numeral preceded by q̄		20
—	—	No	Small uncials	150 × 100	25	1	.....		21
			Small Rustic capitals			1			22
—	—	Yes, as a rule	None	235 × 195	24	1		Words are divided in Greek as well as in Latin style. Final letter is large on pp. 10, 13, 110, 134, 142, 195	23
—	—	No	Small uncials	190 × 185	32	1	Numerals		24
—	—	Yes	None	255 × 250	24	2	Numerals in left corner of first page of quire	Some pages end with a capital (ff. 122, 122 <sup>v</sup> , 126, etc.). Words are divided in the Greek style	25
				240 × 200	50	2			26
—	—	No	Small uncials	170 × 170	24	2	Roman numerals with or without preceding q̄		27
—	—	No	Small uncials	Circa 140 × 140	14	1			28
—	—	No	Square capitals	Circa 215 × 180	20	2			29
—	—	No	.....	170 × 170	18	1	Roman numeral preceded by q̄		30
—	—	No	Small uncials	180 × 180	26	2			31
...	...		.....	195 × 190	23	1	.....		32

No.	Press mark.	Contents.	Script.	Date.	Large letters begin.	Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>s</i> indicated by	and <i>n</i> distinguished.	
33	Paris Gr. 107 ...	EPIST. S. PAULI Codex Claromontanus	Uncial	V/VI	Each page between ff. 1-70 <sup>r</sup> with lapses on ff. 46-51	—	—	No	Small
34	* Naples s.n. (Bobbio) (olim Vienna 16)	APOCR. EPIST. APOST. ( <i>Frag.</i> )	Uncial	V		—	—		Small tra
35	* Leon Cathedr. 15 ...	OLD TESTAMENT	Half Uncial	VII	Each column	—	—		
36	Paris 10592 (Lyons) ...	CYPRIAN	Uncial	V ex.	Each column on ff. 1-8 <sup>r</sup> , 148-155 <sup>v</sup>	—	—	No	Small
37	St. Gall 213 ...	LACTANTIUS	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—		Small
38	Verona XIII (11) ...	HILAR. ON PSALMS	Uncial	V ex.	Each column	— or —	— or —	No	Small
39	St. Paul in Carinthia XXV 3. 19	AMBROSE	Uncial	VI in.	Each column on ff. 39-93 <sup>r</sup>	—	—	Yes	Small
40	Würzburg Th. q 2 ...	HIERONYMUS ON ECCLESIASTES	Uncial	V	Each page	—	—	Yes	
41	Verona XVII (15) ...	HIERONYMUS EPISTLES	Uncial	VI ex.	Each page, in part of the MS.	—	—	Yes	Small ce af ev
42	Verona XXVIII (26) ...	AUGUSTINE CIV. DEI	Uncial	V in.	Each page	—	—	No	No
43	Petrograd Q. v. I. 3 (Corbie)	AUGUSTINE	Uncial	V	Each column	—	—	No	No
44	Paris 12634 (Corbie) ...	AUGUSTINE REGULA	Uncial	VI/VII in.	Many pages	—	—	Yes	No
45	* Vatic. 5766 (Bobbio)	CASSIAN	Uncial	VIII	Most pages, but not all	—	—	No	Un
46	Verona LI (49) ...	MAXIMUS TAURIN.	Uncial	VI in.	Most pages	—	—	No	No
47	St. Gall 912 ...	GLOSSARY	Uncial	VIII in.	Many pages between pp. 1-71	—	—		

## I.

## (a) THE LARGE LETTER AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH PAGE.

It is hardly necessary to insist on the great antiquity of this practice. It has not escaped the attention of scholars.<sup>1</sup> A glance at the above list shows that twenty-one of the forty-seven MSS. enumerated are palimpsests (the examples being furnished, of course, by the primary script); that ten items are in *scriptura capitalis*, this number forming a third of all the extant MSS. in capitals known to us. That all ten of these contain classic authors is what we should expect. The fact that the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Mommsen, Jordan, Studemund, Hauler, Traube, and Vattasso remark upon it in their discussions of Vatic. 5766, Palat. 24, Regin. 1283, Verona XL., Verona XV., Rome, Sessor. 55, Bamberg and Lateran Livy Fragments (cf. *Abhandl. der berlin. Akad.*, 1859, pp. 384-5; 1868,

pp. 31-206, 207-215; 1869, p. 162; Hermes V., 1871, p. 399; *Gai Instit. Commentarii*, 1874; *Comment. Voelffliniana*, 1896, p. 309; *Palaeographische Forschungen IV.*, *Abh. der kgl. bayerisch. Akad.* XXIV., Bd. I., 1904, p. 27; *Studi e Testi* XVIII., p. 4).

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## SOME FACTS ABOUT OUR OLDEST LATIN MANUSCRIPTS 203

Omission of final <i>m</i> indicated by	Omission of final <i>s</i> indicated by	<i>m</i> and <i>s</i> distinguished.	Running title.	Size of written space.	Number of lines.	Number of columns.	Quire marks.	Miscellaneous remarks.	No.
—	—	No	Small uncials	150 × 140	21	1	None	Here and there lines end with large letters.	33
—	—		Small uncials (visible traces)		18	2			34
—	—					2			35
—	—	No	Small uncials	170 × 155	25	2	By letter (ff. 9 to 147 <sup>r</sup> )	The leaves which have the initial large letter are independent of the body of the MS.	36
—	—		Small uncial		31	1			37
—	—	No	Small uncials	260 × 175	26	2			38
—	—	Yes	Small uncials	175 × 170	21	2	Roman numerals		39
—	—	Yes		180 × 170	25	1			40
—	—	Yes	Small uncials (on certain pages, but after folio 270 on every page)	<i>Circa</i> 205 × 185	20	1	Roman numerals		41
—	—	No	None	195 × 120	30	1	Roman numerals preceded by <i>q</i>		42
—	—	No	None	210 × 190	28	2	Roman numerals		43
—	—	Yes	None	180 × 130	26 and 20 (ff. 85 to 165)	1	Roman numeral preceded by <i>q</i>		44
—	—	No	Uncial	225 × 130	35	1	Numeral in lower left corner (89 <sup>r</sup> )		45
—	—	No	None	<i>Circa</i> 220 × 165	25	1	Roman numeral preceded by <i>q</i>		46
				120 × 95	14	2			47

majority of the MSS. in the list contain classical authors and date for the most part from the fifth century, confirms the antiquity of the practice and suggests that its origin was pagan.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the antiquity of the practice is beyond reasonable doubt; but the time and manner of its inception can only be the subject of surmise. It is absent, so far as I know, from extant papyrus rolls. As for the purpose it served, that, obviously, could only be ornamental, since the use of a capital in the middle of a word can have no other significance. And these two statements, taken together, seem to me to throw out a hint that the practice was born about the time when the literary treasures of the past began to be transferred from papyrus roll to vellum codex—that is, during the fourth century. A papyrus roll was to the scribe no more than a monotonous succession of columns, which did not lend themselves to the idea of embellishment;

<sup>1</sup> It is a curious fact that all the oldest MSS. of Livy exemplify the practice. The absence of the Bambergensis from our list is due to the

absence of the necessary data, the beginnings of the pages having been lost.

the codex differed from the roll chiefly in that it was possible to have a book conveniently open at any desired page. Thus the page became the unit, and derived an individuality denied to the columns of the roll. Perhaps the large initial represents the scribe's first recognition of this fact, and his dawning impulse to lend a touch of beauty to his page.

An important characteristic of the initial large letter is, that it is contained within the space allotted for writing, differing thus from the capital used to mark the beginning of a paragraph, which normally projects into the margin. When we find, in the famous MS. of Virgil, in square capitals, Vatic. 3256 (No. 1 of our list), each page beginning with a capital not strictly contained within the limits of the written space, we may take this fact as evidence of the relatively more recent date of the MS.—an ascription borne out by its practice of distinguishing between omitted *m* and omitted *n* at the end of lines (see below). And when we notice that these large capitals in the Virgil MS. have ornamental elements—they are in fact the earliest ornamental initials known to us—we may fairly conclude that we have here a natural development of the practice of putting a single large capital at the beginning of each page.

If we cannot say with any precision when the practice in question began, there is evidence that it started to lose ground as early as the fifth century. This hypothesis alone accounts for the irregular use of the initial capital in such MSS. as the Codex Mediceus (No. 3) and Codex Palatinus (No. 4) of Virgil, the famous Codex Puteanus of Livy (No. 12). When we meet with the same irregularity in the Cicero palimpsest (No. 15) and in the Palatine fragment of Livy (No. 10), it is probably for the same reason. Although the last MS. has two columns on a page, only one out of the four extant pages has a capital at the beginning of both columns, the others only at the top of the first column. The facts that a distinction is made between omitted *m* and *n* at the end of lines, and that the method of syllabification is Greek, also indicate that the MS. is of the fifth century rather than earlier. And when, in the Codex Claromontanus of the Epistles, we find the use of the initial capital in the first seventy folios and not in the rest of the MS., though it was all written by the same scribe, we may feel assured that we are no longer in the presence of a regular scribal practice, but rather of a belated survival. It may easily be that these seventy folios went back to an archetype showing this feature. That the Claromontanus has a composite character is sufficiently proved by the text of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, Professor Clark tells me, is linguistically quite unlike the rest of the Epistles. A graphic proof of this difference is furnished by the use of ordinary ink in the citations which occur in this Epistle, whereas red ink is used in citations occurring in the rest of the MS.

Manuscripts in which one scribe uses the initial capital and another does not probably belong to the transition period. The use of the initial capital by one or more scribes of the Florentine Digests I am inclined to regard as a survival of the practice outside of Italy—if I am right in thinking the MS. has a Byzantine origin. As a curiosity I may mention that it is even used in the Greek text.

The occurrence of the initial capital on certain folios of the Cyprian MS. (No. 36) is explained by the fact that those leaves (they are at the front and the back of the MS.) come from an altogether different MS. from the rest of the codex, and represent an older scribal tradition. The bulk of the MS. I am inclined to regard as a product of the school of Lyons, and regret that it was not included in the collection of the oldest Lyons MSS. just published.<sup>1</sup> The MS. has the familiar annotations attributed to Florus.

A custom of this kind does not die out everywhere at the same time; and the

<sup>1</sup> E. A. Lowe, *Codices Lugdunenses antiquissimi*: Lyons, 1924.  
La plus ancienne École calligraphique de France,

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presence of the feature in a seventh-century half-uncial MS. from Spain (No. 35) is instructive as bearing testimony to the way in which ancient Italian scribal usage survived in the lands on the periphery of the Empire. Again, there would always be slavishly-copying scribes to reproduce the feature unreflectingly ages after it had actually ceased to be the regular practice. Thus its presence in the eighth-century MS. of Cassian (No. 45) or in an eighth-century glossary (No. 47) suggests that the archetypes of these MSS. probably date from the fifth or sixth century.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, as for the suggestion that the school of Vivarium is the home of the practice of using a larger letter at the beginning of each page, this much may be said: if there is any truth in the supposition, then practically all the MSS. in our list come from Vivarium. But this conclusion is on the face of it improbable, not to say absurd, and, so far as evidence goes, quite unsupported by facts at our command. The valid conclusions to be drawn from a consideration of our list are that the practice in question is of Italian origin, and that it is of great antiquity. But despite the fact that the practice cannot be narrowly localized it has more than antiquarian interest, since it may be useful in giving a hint of the date, origin, or archetype of a MS. which illustrates the practice. That the practice was known to the best calligraphers of the fourth and fifth centuries may be gathered from the fact that it is found in *éditions de luxe*, as witness the *Codices purpurei* of the Bible, and the magnificent MSS. of the Latin classics, with the sumptuous margins, contained in our list (Nos. 1, 5, 9, 13, 28, 29).

#### (b) USE OF A LARGE LETTER AT THE END OF A PAGE.

The use of the initial letter at the head of a page or column has a curious corollary in the use of a large letter at the end of page or column as well. Instances are found in Nos. 6, 11, 18, and 23. In the Codex Claromontanus (No. 33) the letters *c*, *e*, *o*, *r*, and *s* at the end of lines are occasionally written large.

## II.

### OMISSION OF *m* AND *n* AT END OF LINE.

In describing the fifth-century Fleury fragments of Jerome's *Chronicle*, Traube made the correct observation that the practice of marking omitted *n* at the end of a line is not so old as the practice of marking omitted *m*; and that the distinction between omitted *m* and omitted *n* is still more recent.<sup>2</sup> The evidence furnished by the oldest MSS. in our list completely and fully confirms his observations. I am so much convinced of the validity of this text that I do not hesitate to apply it as corroborative evidence in the cases of the Vatican Virgil in square capitals (No. 1)

<sup>1</sup> To the examples in my list may be added a few others that have since come to my notice: (1) Vienna 563 is palimpsest. The primary script, in fifth-century uncials, contains the Evangelium Nicodemi. Here most pages, though not all, begin with a larger letter. (2) The practice is illustrated in the vellum fragment of Genesis from Egypt (*Oxy. Pap.*, No. 1073, Vol. VIII., pl. VI.), if the extant leaf may be taken as typical. (3) In Paris 12205, containing St. Augustine in seventh-century uncials, one scribe begins each page with an ordinary letter (this scribe uses the curious *g* with the split tail), while another scribe regularly has a large letter (foll. 77 sqq. and 143-157). The latter is either reproducing an ancient original slavishly, or he

is clinging to a custom long since become obsolete. (4) In Vatic. Ottob. 319, another seventh-century uncial MS. of St. Augustine, we get echoes of the custom, for here and there the scribe indulges in a large letter at the beginning of the page, which he doubtless takes over unthinkingly from his original.

<sup>2</sup> L. Traube, *Hieronymi chroniconum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta*, etc., p. vi (= *Codd. Gr. et Lat. fotogr. depicti*. Suppl. Vol. I., Leyden, 1902). Some statistics of the omission of *m* and *n* will be found in Traube's *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 179, 181, 183, 185. But my own observations do not always agree with his. Where divergencies occur I have verified the facts set down in the table.

and the Palatine fragment of Livy in Rustic capitals (No. 10), and to assign them to the fifth rather than to an earlier century. By the same token the Gaius of Verona (No. 23) cannot be older than the fifth century. When omitted *m* and *n* are differentiated: the *m* is indicated by a stroke over a dot, the *n* by the simple stroke. Noteworthy is the nuance employed by the scribe of Würzburg th. q. 2 (No. 40), his *m*-stroke turning up at the left and down at the right, while the *n*-stroke turns up at the right end. Normally in our oldest MSS. the stroke for omitted *m* and *n* follows the vowel, and is strictly confined to the end of lines.

### III.

#### RUNNING TITLES.

The importance of collecting data on the use of running titles was first pointed out by Karl Dziatzko in his *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 178 sqq. In this work he made the interesting suggestion that the presence or absence of running titles could be used as a test for dating the oldest Latin MSS. He pointed out that running titles did not exist in papyrus rolls; that they are first found in vellum codices, and that even in codices their use could hardly have been general at the end of the fourth century, for in a letter of St. Augustine to St. Jerome, written in 397, the former complains that he was unable to tell the name of a work of St. Jerome's he had just received because it lacked a front title. From this it would follow that MSS. with running titles by first hand cannot, roughly speaking, go much back of the fifth century.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the presence of running titles, provided they are not later additions, furnishes an approximate *terminus post quem*. This view seems sound, and should command universal agreement. But when Dziatzko makes the statement (p. 183) that MSS. lacking running titles must be older than MSS. which possess them (by first hand) he goes too far. His position seems to me to be open to criticism on both general and specific grounds. In the first place, it is never safe to draw conclusions as to dates from the absence of this or that given feature, since the absence may be accounted for on other grounds. It is the positive and not the negative fact that is decisive in such questions. In the second place, the data on which Dziatzko built his theory and based his classification were unreliable. It is almost impossible to conduct fruitful palaeographical investigations of this type if one is limited to the use of facsimiles. I venture to think that Dziatzko's whole discussion would have followed different lines had he been able to consult the MSS. themselves. He would also in that case have been far more cautious in the application of his test, and his classification of the oldest MSS. would have been very different.<sup>2</sup>

The few facts to be gleaned from an examination of our list are as follows:

- (1) Nearly all the MSS. show running titles.
- (2) These titles are usually written by the scribe or a contemporary hand.
- (3) They are usually in the same type of script as the text, though somewhat smaller.
- (4) The use of a different type of script in the title first appears in MSS. of the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century (Nos. 18, 19, 22).

<sup>1</sup> This may throw some light on the date of the Gospel Harmony which fell into the hands of Victor Bishop of Capua (†554). It had neither running titles nor front title, as we learn from the opening words of his preface to his Harmony: 'Dum fortuito in manus meas incideret unum ex quattuor evangelium compositum, et absente titulo, non inuenirem nomen auctoris,' etc.

Migne, *Patrologia Latina* LXVIII., col. 251.

<sup>2</sup> Mgr. M. Vattasso expresses a similar criticism when he says that Dziatzko's discussion is not exhaustive, and that the whole question merits going into again (*Studi e Testi* XVIII. (1906), p. 4, where the Lateran Livy fragments are discussed).

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Running titles are lacking in three out of the ten items in capitals. In one of the ten it is no longer possible to say whether they were there or not. In six cases their presence is clear. In the oldest uncial MSS. in the list their presence is the rule, their absence the exception. If Dziatzko's test held good, then the absence of the titles in Vatic. 3256 (No. 1) would be a sign that it is older than the other MSS. in Rustic capitals which show the titles. But if this is so, then the Laurentian Digests of the sixth century and other manifestly sixth-century MSS. (Nos. 25, 44, and 46), because they lack the titles, are also older than all the MSS. in uncials and Rustic capitals which show them, which is on the face of it absurd.

## IV.

## SIZE AND DISPOSITION OF PAGE.

It is open to question whether statistics on the size of page and number of columns in a page, considering that they are furnished by so small a list of MSS., are susceptible of any scientific interpretation. But a résumé of the facts is perhaps not without interest. Our table seems to indicate that two columns were preferred to long lines in the oldest MSS. That all the works in verse were written in long lines and not in two columns requires no special explanation, and accounts for long lines in six out of the ten items in capitals. Of the remaining four MSS., which contain prose works, only one is in long lines. The evidence of the uncial MSS. seems to point in the same direction. Of the four very ancient MSS. of Livy in our list only one is written in long lines. I may mention in passing that the Bamberg fragments of Livy in uncials of the fifth (or outgoing fourth) century show three columns to the page.<sup>1</sup> The oldest MS. of the Gospels in our list (No. 27) is written in two columns. And the same is true of the Codex Vercellensis (not in our list), which is probably of the end of the fourth century. This tendency was probably more marked during the period when papyrus rolls were being replaced by vellum codices. Since a copy normally tends to reproduce its exemplar, it is clear that the nearer we approach the period when the roll was being replaced by the codex the more frequent would be the MSS. written in more than one column.

As to the size of the written spaces, the figures in our table go to confirm an observation made long ago by scholars—namely, that the oldest MSS. show a tendency to use the square format. It is almost hopeless to try to deduce any general observations from the present size of pages, since in most MSS. the margins have been cut away, in some cases more, in some less. But the written space has remained what it was, and lends itself to exact tabulation. I am not prepared to vouch for the absolute accuracy of my data, but I think the measurements fairly correct. It will be seen that thirteen MSS. in the list have a written space that is practically a perfect square (Nos. 2, 7, 8, 12, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 39), and in the case of ten MSS. the space is almost square (Nos. 1, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 15, 33, 36, 40). If we consider only the length of the written space, seventeen centimetres or thereabouts seems to be the most popular length.

Our statistics dealing with the number of lines on a page permit of no generalizations. Six MSS. have 26 lines, 5 have 25, 5 have 21, 4 have 30, 3 have 24, and 4 have 20 lines. One very ancient MS. (No. 9) has as few as 13 lines, another (No. 15) has 15. But the small number is no indication of age. For the eighth-century glossary from St. Gall (No. 47) has no more than 14 lines.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 203, n. 1.

## V.

## QUIRE SIGNATURES.

Our table confirms the observation that ancient Latin MSS. have their gatherings signed in the lower right-hand corner of the last page of each quire. This is true of all but one MS. in our list. The exception is the Florentine Codex of the Digests, in which the signatures are found on the first page of the quire, in the lower left-hand corner. But this MS. does not reflect pure Latin tradition, and is unusual in more than one respect. The usual way of signing is by Roman numerals. Only one MS. in the list (No. 36) uses letters instead of numerals. This departure from the customary may be due to its being a provincial product.<sup>1</sup> The Roman numeral is as a rule preceded by the letter *q*, standing for *quaternio*, the abbreviation being indicated either by an oblique stroke through the shaft of the *q*, or a horizontal stroke over it, or by a mere dot after it.

It will be interesting to see to what extent the above observations will be confirmed by further investigation of the oldest Latin MSS.

E. A. LOWE.

OXFORD.

<sup>1</sup> The quire-marks are found between foll. 9 and 147\*, the part of the MS. which was probably written at Lyons. Foll. 1-8 and 148-155 come from a different MS.

## ETYMOLOGIES.

## Οὔλος.

The adjective οὔλος is used very frequently by Theophrastus in his *History of Plants*. The English word 'curly' may be accepted as its equivalent in phrases like 'curly leaves' or 'curly roots'; but there is something not quite so natural in an expression like 'curly wood,' as when Theophrastus says (*H.P.* III. 11. 3) that the ζυγία (which is a variety of maple-tree) ἔχει τὸ ξύλον ξανθὸν καὶ οὔλον, 'has yellow and curly wood.' Sir Arthur Hort has accordingly translated it in many passages by the word 'close-grained,' and this not only gives a permissible sense in a large number of passages, but seems to be the only one which yields a good sense in III. 11. 3, where Theophrastus says 'there are two kinds of ash. Of these one is lofty and of strong growth, with white wood of good fibre, softer, with fewer knots, and of more compact texture (τὸ ξύλον ἔχουσα οὐλότερον).' Schneider, who recognized only the sense 'curly,' felt the absurdity of saying 'with fewer knots and curlier, and he therefore proposed to substitute ἀνουλότερον (comparative of ἀνουλος, a word which does not occur anywhere in Greek literature). The difficulty vanishes if Sir Arthur Hort's rendering is accepted.

Similarly, it seems most natural in Theophrastus, *H.P.* V. 2. 3, to translate οὐλότης not by 'curling,' but by 'closeness of grain.' Theophrastus is describing an abnormal growth of trees known as 'coiling' (σπείραι), and he says: 'Coiling of the wood is also due to winter or to ill-nourishment. Wood is said to "coil" when there is in it closer συστροφία than usual, made up of an unusual number of rings. This is not quite like a knot, nor is it like ἡ οὐλότης ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ξύλῳ δι' ὅλου γὰρ πῶς αὕτη καὶ ὁμαλίζουσα, i.e. 'nor is it like the ordinary οὐλότης of the wood, which runs right through it and is uniform.' Here, it seems to me, οὐλότης means the closeness of the grain, since this alone can truly be said to be uniform and to run right through the wood—i.e. right up the trunk from the base to the top. Theo-

phrastus is contrasting with this uniform grain an abnormal state of affairs, in which the grain becomes closer in one part of the trunk than in the rest.

There is also a passage in the work of Philo, the engineer, on the manufacture of war-engines. Talking of the choice of wood for the manufacture of the outer shell of part of a war-engine, he says that if you care for the appearance of the thing you must choose *οἰλα ξύλα*. Mr. F. W. Hall, who drew attention to the passage in a note which he contributed to Liddell and Scott, pointed out that *οἰλα* cannot mean 'twisted,' but must refer to wood of the finest quality. Here also it means 'close-grained'; and this, I suppose, is the opinion of Diels and Schramm, who in their recent German translation have rendered it 'feste Hölzer.'

If these conclusions are accepted, it becomes possible to throw light on a number of other passages which have, I think, hitherto been wrongly translated. I will begin with the simplest case: it is a passage of Plutarch II. 510 sq. This passage is quoted in the eighth edition of Liddell and Scott, and is there said to have reference to singing. The words are *οἰλα καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ συνεστραμμένα φθεγγομένους*. They are not actually translated, but from the arrangement of the article it is clear that they are thought to refer to the ornate, complicated, or florid character of the song sung, and to involve a metaphorical application of the sense 'twisted,' 'curly,' 'winding.' In reality the passage does not refer to singing, but is a description of taciturn people, those whose speech expresses a great deal of meaning packed into very few words (*ὁν πολλὸς νοῦς ἐν ὀλίγῃ λέξει συνίσταται*). It seems clear that *οἰλος* is here simply a synonym of *πυκνός*, in the sense of 'closely packed together,' and that this is a metaphorical application of the use which we have seen in Theophrastus and in Philo's *Belopoeica*.

Along with this Plutarch passage Liddell and Scott have grouped three passages of Callimachus, in which they suppose that *οἰλος* is applied to dancing or similar movements, and means 'mazy.' The first of these is *Dian.* (hymn 3) 247:

αἱ δὲ πόδεσσιν  
*οἰλα κατεκροτάλίζον, ἐπεψόφεον δὲ φαρέτραι.*

This is supposed to mean 'they beat with their feet a mazy or complicated dance . . .,' *οἰλος* being used in a metaphorical application of the sense 'twisted.'

The second passage is *Ion.* (hymn 1) 52: *οἰλα δὲ Κούρητές σε περὶ πρύλιν ὤρχισαντο τεύχεα πεπλήγοντες*. 'And . . . round thee danced the Curetes a war dance, beating their armour.'

The third is *Epigr.* 5 (6), in which the speaker is a nautilus shell, *κόγχος*: *Κόγχος ἐγὼ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαίτερος*. He is describing his methods of propulsion through the water, and he says that when winds were blowing he used to hoist a sail composed of membrane, and when it was calm he used to row with his feet: *εἰ δὲ γαληναίη, λιπαρὴ θεός, οἰλος ἐρέσσω ποσσὶ νιν . . .*

It has been thought that we have here a special application of that sense of *οἰλος* in which it means 'whole,' and is the Ionic form of *ὅλος*, and that from meaning 'whole' it can come to mean 'hale' or 'vigorous.' For this, however, there seems to be no evidence. *ὅλος* and its dialect form *οἰλος* can only mean 'whole' in the ordinary sense of the English word 'whole.'

In all these three passages the word *οἰλος* denotes an action which involves frequent repetition. We have, in fact, a metaphorical transference of *οἰλος*, 'closely packed,' from the sphere of space to that of time, such as may be observed also in the case of the synonymous word *πυκνός*, and also in Latin *creber*.

If this be admitted, it next becomes possible to propose a new interpretation of a passage in Homer, viz. *Il.* XVII. 756: 'And a cloud of them darts up like a cloud

of starlings or of daws, οἶλον κεκλήγοντες, whenever they see a kite coming—a kite which brings death to little birds'; and in line 759: 'so the Achaean warriors, pursued by Aeneas and Hector, fled, οἶλον κεκλήγοντες, and forgot the battle.' It has been thought, both in ancient and in modern times, that οἶλον here means 'deadly,' as in the phrase οἶλος Ἄρης, 'deadly Ares'; but the expression 'to utter a deadly cry' is not a probable way of saying 'to utter a cry as of one about to perish,' a deathly cry; and it cannot be shown that οἶλος ever means 'deathly.' In other words, the parallel with οἶλος Ἄρης is not exact. Another ancient interpretation (Sch. D.) is that it means ὀξύ βοῶντες καὶ πυκνόν; and this I think is correct, or at any rate includes the truth. The little birds are thought of by the scholiast as uttering shrill and oft-repeated cries. But which of these is the meaning of οἶλον? οἶλον κεκλήγοντες in itself means 'uttering oft-repeated cries'; the cries were no doubt shrill, but the poet does not say so. The scholiast would have been exactly right if he had omitted ὀξύ and left πυκνόν as the meaning of οἶλον. Eustathius<sup>1</sup> has an interpretation which is essentially the same as that of the scholiast already quoted: he says the meaning is συνεστραμμένον καὶ ὀξύ. As we have already said, ὀξύ is not the meaning or even part of it; but συνεστραμμένον is exactly right, because one of its meanings is 'compact': ξύλα συνεστραμμένα in Theophrastus, *H.P.* III. 11. 2, means 'close-grained' wood, exactly like ξύλα οἶλα; and the σιστροφαί are the concentric rings which together constitute the grain. It seems probable that οἶλος = πυκνός is connected with ἐλλω, 'pack tightly together.'

Since I wrote this note my attention has been called to the fact that οἶλος in some of its senses is connected with ἐλλω by the Modern Greek *Lexikon* of Skarlati-Byzantius, published at Athens in 1839.

## Σείω.

In the well-known passage of the *Odyssey*, in which Odysseus and his companions are engaged in putting out the Cyclops' eye, the poet describes how they planted the stake in his eye, and then by means of a leather thong caused it to spin round:

ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐρευσθεῖς  
δίνεον, ὥς ὅτε τις τρυπῶ δόρῳ νήιον ἀνήρ  
τρυπάνῃ, οἱ δέ τ' ἐνερθεν ὑποσσεύουσιν ἱμάντι  
ἀψάμενοι ἐκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἑμμενὲς αἰεί.

(IX. 384-6.)

'And I, leaning on the top of it, spun round, as when a man drills a ship's timber with a drill, and the others spin it round below, attaching a thong, and it spins unceasingly.'

It is clear that ὑποσσεύουσιν means 'they spin or twist round below,' and this meaning is admitted by everybody; but it is less clear how a compound of σείω with ὑπο- can have such a meaning. Σείω does not mean 'spin,' but 'shake,' and the stake was certainly not 'shaken' in the eye of the Cyclops.

The Skt. *cyāvatī*, 'set in rapid motion,' would appear in Greek in the form \*σέφω, with an aorist ἔσσενα. If the third plural σέφουσιν have ὑπο- prefixed to it, the resulting ὑποσσεύουσιν is metrically impossible for hexameter verse. But according to the known principles of metrical lengthening it can be got into a hexameter by the artificial lengthening of the syllable σε- to σει-. This σει- in ὑποσσεύουσιν has thus only a superficial resemblance to the σει- in σείω, 'I shake,' which cannot be the result of a purely metrical lengthening, as it is also found in prose.

R. MCKENZIE.

<sup>2</sup> 1171. 8, cf. Sch. II., *l.c.*, Vol. VI., p. 241, Maass.



## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

### LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

**American Journal of Philology.** XLV. 4. October-December, 1924.

R. B. Steele, *Lucan's Pharsalia*. Steele first discusses the use made by Lucan of his predecessors, and then estimates his influence on subsequent literature, giving examples to illustrate his most attractive qualities. E. H. Sturtevant, *The Doctrine of Caesura, a Philological Ghost*. S. seeks to discredit all theories, both ancient and modern, of the real purpose and effect of the caesura, which can be explained by neither the theory of rhythmic cola nor theories of the origin of Greek verse forms, nor the notion that word-ends are either audible or psychologically prominent. W. Rhys Roberts, *Notes on Aristotle's Rhetoric*. The article deals with the following passages: the opening chapters as a preface; 1354a 13, αἱ πίστεις as a technical term; 1355a, ὥσπερ πρότερον εἶπομεν as raising the questions of the Greek use of 'author's plural' and the value of the *Vetusta translatio*; the reading of 1356a 30, 31 (ὁμοία with Λc for the vulgate ὁμοίωμα); 1357a 13-17, the qualifications in the description of the enthymeme; 1358a 23, the support given to the βέλτιον of the inferior MSS. by the melius of the *Vetusta*; 1354b 32, a suggestion that ἀναλαβεῖν was taken to mean 'step by step' (*per singula captare*); 1368a 25, a defence of *insinuare* as a rendering of μηνύειν; 1365b 16, 19, the doubtful meaning attached by the translator to ἀγαπητόν; 1395a 3, a suggestion that this passage, the one case in which πρεσβύτεροι is rendered *seniores*, and not as elsewhere *senes*, shows that the use of the comparative is intended to suggest a 'distinction of worth and dignity'; it is, however, admitted that the suggestion is not borne out by such passages as 1384a 34, 1385b 25, and 1413b 1; 1359b 9-16, a protest against the translation 'and not mere words' for ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον λόγων. Kemp Malone, *Ptolemy's Scandia*. M. suggests that the *Suiones* (Swedes) missing from Ptolemy's tribal list for Scandia were included by him among the tribes belonging to the south-east coast of the Baltic (reading Σονίωες for Σούλωες); examines the tribal names actually recorded by him for Scandia, and suggests that, like Pliny, but unlike Tacitus, he derived his knowledge of the country from a Western source. L. A. Post, *A Supposed Historical Discrepancy in the Platonic Epistles*. Post argues for the genuineness of the eighth epistle by suggesting that the son of Dion, who is mentioned in 355e as a possible king of Syracuse, is not Hipparinus-Aretaeus (who committed suicide before his father's death), but the unnamed posthumous son who was born in prison, released in 352 by Dion's nephew Hipparinus, and finally murdered in 350 at the age of three. A. C. Nutting, *The Indefinite First Singular*. Gives examples, both from prose and verse, of a perfectly indefinite *ego* introduced merely as a foil to an indefinite *tu*, and compares the usage to the colloquial use of *meum* and *tuum*; adds further instances where *ego* is used indefinitely without a balancing *tu*.

XLVI. 1. January-March, 1925.

A. L. Wheeler, *Topics from the Life of Ovid*. With numerous illustrative quotations, chiefly from the poet himself, but also from the Elder Seneca, deals with the following subjects: birthplace, name, and race; schooldays and early poetic career; experience in the rhetorical schools; first public reading; relations with other poets, especially Tibullus; foreign travel and official career; domestic relations and marriages. A. H. Sayce, *The Decipherment of the Lydian Language*. Gives details of the gradual building up of a knowledge of the Lydian alphabet, discusses

the formation of the various parts of speech, and adds the text of five inscriptions (numbered 23, 24, 14, 13, 10), complete with interlinear translation and notes. Concludes that, while Lydian is allied to the Hittite of Boghaz Keui, it has no genetic relationship with Etruscan. G. T. Flom, *Scandinavian Philology*. A general survey of the work recently accomplished in such departments as the study of the runes, lexicography, and the study of place-names. Tenney Frank, *Horace's Description of a Scene in Lucilius*. T. Frank suggests that the *comis et urbanus* of Sat. IV. 90, when compared with the similar phrase in I. 64, suggests that the unnamed opponent is Cato and the person discussed Lucilius, and infers that the preceding lines describing a banquet are from Lucilius, who often dealt with such scenes. W. P. Mustard, *On Tacitus*, Agricola 44. 5. M. suggests that in the phrase *festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit euasisse postremum illud tempus*, etc., the infinitive clause should be regarded as explanatory of *solacium*, and that parallels, such as Ovid, *Met.* I. 191, Lucan VIII. 314 sqq., and Statius, *Silvae* II. v. 24 sqq., show that the meaning of *tulit* may be 'took with him' (to other spheres), instead of merely 'won.'

XLVI. 2. April-June, 1925.

G. L. Hendrickson, *Archilochus and the Victims of his Iambics*. H. seeks to show that the story of the fate of Lycambes and his daughters is a reflection of a genuine belief in the power of the injured to work harm by their words, and that Archilochus' poems are akin on one side to the legendary *Βουβύλοι ἀπαί* and the *defixiones*, and on the other to such literary 'curses' as the *Ibis* of Callimachus, and concludes with parallels from Irish and Arabic literature. W. Petersen, *The Adnominal Genitive*. P. argues that the extremely wide and vague adnominal genitive must be derived from an original uninflected genitive, which suggested relationship between nouns by means of mere collocation, and which passed on all its uses to the inflected genitives. Lily R. Taylor, *Horace's Equestrian Career*. Argues, in the light of such passages as Sat. II. 7, 53-55 and 107-110, that Horace ranked through life as an *Eques* in virtue of his military tribunate and his connexion with the *scribae*, but that, like Maecenas, he definitely refused to seek office. K. Malone, *The Suiones of Tacitus*. States that the *Germania* correctly places the Swedes on islands in the Baltic (*ipso in Oceano*), and relates them ethnically with the Eastern Germans. He argues further that his picture of their life is a subtle satire on the ideals of Roman business men, which is yet substantially accurate, though the absolutism assigned to the kings is unhistorical. W. F. Edgerton, *ΔΕΙΑ* = 'Flock,' 'Herd.' Cites from the papyri five further examples of the word in this sense to be added to those in Steph. *Thesaurus* V.

Classical Philology. XX. 1. January, 1925.

A. W. Gomme, *The Position of Women in Athens*. The prevailing view is based upon an arbitrary choice of evidence, and there is much in Attic literature to suggest that Greek theory and practice did not differ radically from that of modern Europe. T. Frank, *On Augustus' References to Horace*. Ode III. 16 refers to Augustus' offer to appoint Horace *scribendis epistulis amicorum*. Epistle I. 13, which apparently accompanied Horace's gift of a copy of his odes caused Augustus to reply in a letter quoted by Suetonius. B. E. Perry, *Petronius and the Comic Romance*. The basic story of the *Satyricon* was modelled on some Greek comic romance like the *Ovos*; the realistic tableaux, the character drawing, the poetry, and the criticism of art and literature, are due to the originality of Petronius. B. B. Boyer and A. P. Dorjahn, *On the 1508 Aldine Pliny*. A collation of available copies of *agere*- and *facere*-texts of 1508 and of the text of 1518 shows that all copies bearing the date 1508 are impressions of the same edition; that there were at least three impressions, and that *facere* is the original reading. J. Elmore explains the *sanati* of the XII. Tables as those who had

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been cured of insanity; E. M. Sanford describes one of Queen Christina's Manuscripts in the Vatican; H. L. Crosby proposes to interchange the parts assigned to Aeschylus and Dionysus in *Frogs* 1324; P. Shorey would read τοῦτο for ταὐτό in Lucian, *Prometheus* 3; P. R. Norton discusses the *Vita S. Chrysostomi* of Georgius Alexandrinus.

### Hermes. LX. I. 1925.

K. Latte, *Reste frühhellenistischer Poetik im Pisonenbrief des Horaz*. H.'s treatment of the chorus and of satyric drama shows him using a source interested in the fifth and fourth centuries. This throws light on the outlook of Neoptolemos. H. Oppermann, *Herophilos bei Kallimachos*. The Homeric σάκος is ἐπταβόειον. The reminiscence in Kall. in *Dian.* 53 makes the eyes of the Kyklopes σάκει ἴσα τετραβόειν. The change is due to H.'s discovery of four membranes in the eye instead of three. Discussion of ancient views on the structure of the eye. G. Jahn, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Arbeitsweise des Plautus*. Plautus' practice of merging several scenes of his original into one often leaves him with one of his chief characters mute for a considerable time. J. attempts to show how he overcomes this difficulty in the *Trinummus*. W. Judeich, *Zum 'Pheidias-Papyrus'*. Partly textual, but chiefly a defence of Nicole against Robert. It is about Ph. the sculptor after all. R. Holland, *Britomartis*. Full examination of the *Diktynna* saga, prompted by E. Maass's article in *Hermes* LVIII. on Pap. Ox. 661. A. Schulten, *Eine unbekannte Topographie von Emporion*. This is found in Sall. *Hist.* III. 6 (Maur.), where S. would restore ad <Emporias> insulam. F. A. Marx, *Untersuchungen zur Komposition und zu den Quellen von Tacitus' Annalen*. A. Finds an annual *Gruppierungsprinzip* thus: 1. Emperor's business: (a) imperial house; (b) external affairs, especially wars. 2. Senatorial business, which includes wars in public provinces. B. Tacitus and the *acta senatus*. Of these he made direct use, but they cannot have been his main source for wars in the emperor's sphere. A. Stein, *Stellvertreter der Praefecti Praetorio*. Discusses an inscription from Ostia, published by Calza in *Not. d. Scavi*, 1923, pp. 397-411. Restores line 2, *praef(ecto) ann(onae), a(genti) u(ices) praef(ectorum) praet(orio)*, and collects parallels. H. Lamer, *Zwei Zeugnisse über römische Brettspiele*. (i.) The *calculi ordinarii* and *uagi* of Isid. *Or.* XVIII. 67 do not belong to the *lud. latruncularum*. (ii.) *XII scripta* was not backgammon. B. A. Müller, *K<χ>ραῖος κόλπος*. So read for *Κραῖος* in Hekataios, fr. 105; cf. Thuk. I. 46, 4, and Strabo VII. 324. C. Fensterbusch, *σκήνη bei Pollux*. σκ. is *Bühnengebäude* + *λογεῖον*.

### LX. 2. 1925.

H. Magnus, *Ovids Metamorphosen in doppelter Fassung?* II. A full examination of the crucial passages confirms the author's conclusion (*Hermes* XL.) that nowhere can variant versions both be ascribed to Ovid. H. Schöne, *Eine umstrittene Wortstellung des Griechischen*. Collects epigraphic evidence for unusual word-orders, such as e.g. τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου πρεσβευταῖς ἐλθοῦσιν, and justifies thereby readings in literary passages which have been doubted. H. Fränkel, *Xenophanesstudien*. (i.) *X. als Geschichtsquelle*: (ii.) *die Erkenntniskritik des X.* R. Heinze, *Ciceros Rede Pro Caelio*. A long and minute examination of the speech, offered as a contribution to the study of Cicero's *inuentio*. P. Maass, *Callimachea*. Corrections in five places. A. Körte, *Zur antiken Stichometrie*. K. Ohly in *Arch. f. Pap.* VII. 190 sqq. is wrong in generalizing his conclusion from the stichometry of the *Herculaneum* rolls—that the numbers indicate not the actual lines, but the equivalent of so many standard lines. A. Stein, *Berichtigung*. After seeing a squeeze S. withdraws an identification suggested by him in the previous number.

## LX. 3. 1925.

R. Sydow, *Kritische Beiträge zu Caesar*. U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Lese-früchte*. Miscellaneous notes on Euripides, Diehl's *Anthology*, Plutarch, Julian, and other Greek authors. A. Klotz, *Der Hiatus bei Terenz*. Questions Leo's doctrine that there is no hiatus in T. Believes that the senarius is developed from the *uersus quadratus*. [K.'s scansion *căuēto* in *Asin.* 372 cannot be accepted.] L. Ziehen, *Zu den Mysterien von Andania*. A criticism of Pasquali's views. R. Heinze, *Auctoritas*. This word, translated by ἀξίωμα in *Mon. Ancyranum*, means the 'influence' or 'prestige' of a person or body, to which the Romans paid a peculiar respect. MISZELLEN: G. Leue on the acrostich in the *Periagesis* of Dionysios. J. Hasebroek, on descriptive identification of persons in antiquity. F. Jacoby argues that Herodotos in IV. 160 made a mistake in stating that Learchos, who killed Arcesilaos, was A.'s brother. He was more probably a φίλος πονηρός, as stated by Plutarch 260D. F. Heichelheim identifies a papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchos published in *P.S.I.* VII. 762 with Isocrates *Paneg.* IV. 78-82.

## Mnemosyne. LIII. 1. 1925.

P. H. Damsté deals with the history of this journal during the half-century (1873-1922). J. C. Naber continues his *Observatiunculæ de iure Romano*. J. H. van Haeringen, *Qui fuerit Basilii Magni de Mundi Procreatione Orationum Ordo*, shows that previous writers were wrong in supposing that these discourses were delivered on six days. Internal evidence proves that I. and II. were delivered on the first day, III. and IV. on the following, V. on a third, VI. and VII. on a fourth, and VIII. and IX. on the day following. P. J. Enk, *De Mercatore Plautina*, argues that this play is wholly derived from Philemon's Ἐμπορος, whereas Marx and Fraenkel have maintained that Demipho's dream is Plautus' own composition, modelled by him on Daemones' dream in the *Rudens*. E. particularly emphasizes the use of the same word *ambedo* in the unexampled sense of 'adimo.' This becomes explicable if the word were used here to translate an original περιτρώγω, for the sense of which cf. *Ar. Vesp.* 596, *Ach.* 257. E. deals with other difficulties brought forward by M. and F., and adds an exposition of the rôle of Lysimachus in the play. D. Cohen, *Ad Herodoti Lib. II. Annotationes Aliquot*, distinguishes four grounds of error in H.'s accounts of foreign countries: (i.) his account sometimes represents not what his informants told him, but what he understood them to have meant; (ii.) his attention is too exclusively absorbed by contrasts between the country of which he is writing and Greece; (iii.) he assumes that customs which he has noticed among the lower classes are characteristic of the nation as a whole; (iv.) he generalizes from phenomena which may be either accidental or exceptional. With the aid of these categories C. accounts for the erroneous statements of H. in II. 124 (character of Cheops) and 177 (census instituted by Amasis). H. Wagenvoort, *Ad Taciti Dial. cap. V.* Secundus invited by Maternus to arbitrate in the dispute on the rival merits of Poetry and Oratory excuses himself on the ground of his known intimacy with the poet Saleius Bassus, and adds 'porro si poetica accusatur non alium uideo reum locupletiorum.' W. thinks 'quam me ipsum' is to be understood here, whereas most editors understand 'quam Bassum.' W. points out that *reus* is not properly a person *accused* but a person *involved*, quoting *Cic. De. Or.* II. 77, 116, 134, 137, etc. Tacitus proceeds to represent Aper as saying that he has no fault to find with a man like Bassus devoting himself to poetry 'cum causas agere non possit. ego enim quatenus arbitrum litis huius inueniri, non patiar Maternum societate plurium defendi sed et ipsum solum apud eos arguam, quod natus ad eloquentiam . . . omittit studium.' W. would restore this passage by reading for 'inueniri' 'inueni reum,' and for 'et,'



'id.' C. Brakman, *Pliniana*, following a hint of Carlsson, seeks by help of the laws of the 'clausula' to decide between various readings presented by the MSS. of Pliny's *Letters*. He adds some conjectures of his own.

LIII. 2. 1925.

B. A. van Groningen, *De Cleomene Naucratis*, collects and discusses the references to this personage in ancient authors. His public career extended from 331, when Alexander made him prefect of Arabia and treasurer of all Egypt with the oversight of the building of Alexandria, to 322-321, when he was executed by Ptolemy. Van G. maintains that a careful study of the evidence shows that C. was a much calumniated man. His main characteristics were organizing efficiency, loyalty to Alexander and his heirs, zeal for economy, and dislike of the 'parasitic' classes in Egyptian society, especially priests and soldiers. H. Wagenvoort, *Ad Verg. Aen. V. 52*. Aeneas, speaking of the anniversary of his father's death, says: 'hunc (sc. diem) ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exul, | Argolicou mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae, | annua uota tamen . . . | exsequer.' W. thinks *deprensus* must mean 'tempestate oppressus'; if so, 'urbe Mycenae' ('Mycenis' cod. Rom.) cannot stand. Aeneas had actual experience of the Gaetuli and the Argolicum mare, but not of Mycenae. Hence W. would read 'arce Mineruae' (i.e. the southern promontory of Italy), cf. *Aen. III. 530*. L. Rank, *Donatea* (continued from LII., p. 404), deals with the scholia on the *Andria*. P. H. Damsté has critical notes on Propertius, Book IV.; T. L. Agar on Catullus. C. Brakman, *Tacitea*, writes (i.) on the 'clausula' in Tacitus; (ii.) critical notes; (iii.) on Tacitus 'as imitator of himself.' J. S. Phillimore has critical notes on Terence *Phormio*, in which he takes occasion to point out the numerous offences against idiom or metre found in Fleckeisen's edition. I. G. P. Borleffs, *Ad Minucii Felicis Octauium XXII. 9*: 'Quid? qui sanguine suo libat et uulneribus suis supplicat, non profanus melius esset quam sic religiosus?' Cf. Seneca, *De Superstitione* (frag. 34 Haase), 'se ipsi in templis contrucidant, uulneribus suis ac sanguine supplicant.' But 'sanguine suo libat' is strange, for *libo* properly takes the accusative. Hence B. would read *litat*: cf. *Aen. II. 118*; Tert. *ad Nat. I. 15*, etc. B. A. van Groningen, *De Rebus Byzantiorum*, discusses the difficult passage [Arist.] *Oec. II.*, p. 1346b 13-26, which deals with certain financial measures adopted by the Byzantines at a time of stringency. By the deletion of one word (γάρ) and the alteration of the punctuation, he succeeds in obtaining a satisfactory sense. He argues that the financial contrivances described belong to an early period of Byzantine history, probably the sixth century B.C. There are short notes on the Law of the XII. Tables (Binsbergen), on Aesch. *Pers. 483*, Apuleius *Met. VI. 1*, and on σέλας = 'torch.'

LIII. 3. 1925.

J. C. Naber continues his *Observatiunculae de Iure Romano*. F. Muller, *De Epistula Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, deals with the relation between the 'Epistle' edited by B. Kühler as an appendix to his edition of Julius Valerius, 1888, and another published in 1910 by Pfister in his *Kleine Texte zum Alexanderroman*. The Latin of the former is almost classical, of the latter 'vulgar.' It has been denied that (2) bears any relation to (1), but M. cites four passages in (2) which are quite unintelligible until compared with the corresponding passages in (1), showing that the author of (2) was acquainted with (1), and had made use of it. T. L. Agar continues his emendations of Catullus; K. H. E. De Jong writes appreciatively of A. C. Bulle's German translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. J. Berlage, *Iocus Puerilis in Cyri Institutione Ignoratus*, writes of *Cyrop.* I. 3. 11. Cyrus has been complaining to Astyages of Sacas, the cupbearer, who will not give him access to the king as often as he desires. A. asks him what punishment would he (Cyrus) inflict on S., and C. replies: 'I would stand at the door as he does, whenever he wished to go to

breakfast, and would say, ὅτι οὐπω δυνατόν τῷ ἀρίστῳ ἐντυχεῖν. σπουδάξει γὰρ πρὸς τινος· εἴθ', ὅποτε ἦκοι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγοιμ' ἂν ὅτι λούται· εἰ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάξοι φαγεῖν εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐστίν. B. thinks the joke consists in the personification of τὸ ἀριστον, τὸ δεῖπνον and τὸ φαγεῖν, which are the subjects of σπουδάξει, λούται and (παρὰ ταῖς γυναῖξιν) ἐστίν respectively. J. Berlage, *De vocibus τυκτός, τετυγμένος, ποιητός, οἰκουμένη, aliis*, controverts the view that (e.g.) τυκτός = εὐτυχτος. Taking the phrase common in *Anab.* I, πόλις οἰκουμένη, he points out that it is not equivalent to εὐ οἰκουμένη, but contrasts with πόλις ἐρήμη. So with the Homeric words; they indicate 'fabricated,' of artificial )( natural origin. B. discusses the various Homeric passages in the light of this hypothesis. P. H. Damsté has notes on Grattius and the *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus; C. Brakman on Ausonius. J. W. Bierma, *De Plauti Cistellaria*, inquires which of Menander's plays was the original of the *Cistellaria*. That Menander was Plautus' model Lambinus inferred from a passage in the rhetorician Hermogenes. The title gives no clue. Hence B. thinks the original may have had a participial title, of which there are many instances in New Comedy. A comparison of the *Cistellaria* with the fragments of the *Συναριστῶσαι* reveals several parallels. The identification is confirmed by a mutilated note in Festus, pp. 301, 26, and 352, 18.

**Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung.** I. 2-4. 1925.

2. F. Althelm, *Das göttliche im Oidipus auf Kolonos*. A detailed analysis of the play leads up to a discussion of the disharmony felt by modern readers in Oedipus' unappeasable vindictiveness. A's explanation is that 'for this poet human personality, divorced from all relations with the divine, would be a vessel without content.' Oedipus is the vehicle of the divine will: Sophocles, unlike Euripides, makes the characters 'functions of the action.' H. Hommel, *Das Problem des Übels im Altertum*. After a rapid sketch of Oriental and early Greek beliefs, H. fixes on Heraclitus as the first to conceive a really profound 'monodualistic' view. Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* shows how later writers misunderstood him. W. Aly, *Die milesische Novelle*. A. regards Aristides as merely one late collector of a type of folk-tale diffused in Ionia since the sixth century, and not necessarily erotic. He discusses the spirit and technique of such tales, and their relation to literature, especially in connexion with Herodotus. 3. K. Meister, *Franz Boll und die Erforschung der antiken Astrologie*. An appreciation, with full bibliography. E. von Dobschütz, *Homer und die Bibel*. An elaborate comparison of the gradual establishment of the received texts of Homer and of the Bible (especially the New Testament). D. emphasizes the antiquity of most variations: he believes that both the Alexandrians and the fourth century ecclesiastical editors in the main removed corruptions and expansions, and restored from ancient sources a genuinely superior text. 4. H. Wachtler, *Der Zeus des Pheidias zu Olympia*. An attempt to reconstruct the statue and its throne, with some new suggestions. The type was soon superseded by that of Lysippus, but appreciation was revived at Pergamon, whence it passed to Rome. The statue had much influence on late Stoics and early Christians, and became the model for the established type of Christ. W. Bombe, *Neues aus dem alten Rom*. A popular account of the important excavations planned and partly executed in the Fora Caesarum, the Circus Maximus, and other parts of Rome.

**Philological Quarterly** (Iowa). IV. 3. 1925.

R. B. Steele, *Non-recurrence in Vocabulary as a Test of Authorship*. A criticism of Fairclough's view that the substantial non-Virgilian element in the vocabulary of the *Appendix Vergiliana* is a proof that the poems are not by Virgil. The test is illusory. Variety is the spice of style for Roman writers, and they often purposely make the second setting of a word different from the first.

**Philologus.** LXXX. 3. 1925.

A. Schwessinger, *Eigenart und Eigengesetzlichkeit in Platons Kunst*. Detailed analysis of the *Phaedo*, and briefer account of the *Gorgias*, *Apology*, *Crito*, *Protagoras*, *Symposium*. J. Mesk, *Über Phlegons Mirabilia* I.-III. Summarizes these three Ghost Stories, showing that they agree in many details. Phlegon took them almost *verbatim* from some Hellenistic original. F. Atenstädt, *Ein Beitrag zu Stephanos von Byzanz*. Discusses relations between Stephanus, Philo of Byblus, and Orus. Fr. Bilabel, *Fragmente aus der heidelberger Papyrussammlung*. First publication of two fragments, viz.: (1) Inv. Nr. 222 = twelve very mutilated scraps of verse, written in anapaestic dimeters with iambus in last foot. They apparently concern birds and plants, and contain several new compound adjectives. (2) Inv. 1716 Verso = school list of definitions by question and answer. MISCELLANEOUS: R. Asmus indicates source of Julian, *Ep.* 59. F. Piehlmayr discusses interpolations and other points in the *Historia Augusta*. K. Rupprecht claims that in the title of Euhemerus' work the word ἀναγραφή = 'List of Stories' not 'Inscription.' Hence Ennius' translation (*Sacra Historia*) is exact.

## LXXX. 4. 1925.

W. I. W. Koster, *De Glyconei et Pherecratei Origine*. (Written in Latin.) Claims that the Glyconic retains its original form, but that the Pherecratean started as a Glyconic Catalectic and has suffered three changes. R. Adam, *Über eine unter Platos Namen erhaltene Sammlung von Definitionen*. Brief introduction to the 'Οποι and lengthy collection of parallel passages. J. Würschmidt, *Die Schrift des Menelaus über die Bestimmung der Zusammensetzung von Legierungen*. Describes, translates (from the Arabic), and comments on this important treatise on Physics. F. Eckstein, *Neue Untersuchungen zu Plautus und Terenz*. (1) Examines construction of the period in Terence; (2) by careful analysis of the *Bacchides* and *Mostellaria* claims to show that metre and syntax throw light on Plautus' development. F. Walter, *Zu lateinischen Schriftstellern*. Emendations in text of fifteen Latin authors, mostly post-Augustan. K. Barwick, *Ovids Erzählung vom Raub der Proserpina und Nikanders 'Ερεπιδούμενα*. Ovid's source in *Fasti*, 4, 419-618 and *Met.* 5, 341-661 is Nicander. O.'s adaptation in the *Fasti* of his epic original is instructive. MISCELLANEOUS: H. Koch points out coincidences in Arnobius and Lactantius. F. Zimmermann suggests three emendations in the text of Chariton, viz. p. 22, 5 sqq., Hercher, p. 24, 19 sqq., p. 26, 7 sqq.

**Revue de Philologie.** XLVIII. 2. 1924.

Contains summaries of classical works published in 1923.

## XLVIII. 3. 1924.

F. Cumont, *Le plus ancien Parchemin grec*. A fragment of a legal document circa 189 B.C. discovered at Salihiyeh in 1922. Van der Heyde, *L'Origine de la Conjunction* dum. G. Ramain, *A propos de Virgile Géorgiques* III. 416-439. L. H. Gray, *Essai de Restitution de quelques Lacunes dans les Drame d'Eschyle*. J. E. Harry, *Quatre Corrections à Eschyle*. L. A. Constans, *Notes critiques et historiques sur quelques Passages de César* de B. G. A discussion of VII. 75 and other passages. H. Jacobet, *Emendationes Livianae*. E. Cavaignac, *La Désignation des Archontes athéniens jusqu'en 487*. After 487 the archons were chosen by lot from the 500 προκριθέντες. Hence the archonship lost all political significance. G. Prychocki, *Plautina*. On Poen. 53-54; Bacch. 213 sqq. is not an attack on Pellio, but a friendly jest. P. was probably taking the part of Chrysalus. G. Dottin, *Notes sur le Texte de Darès de Phrygie*.

## XLVIII. 4. 1924.

Summaries of periodicals published in 1923.

## XLIX. 1: 1925.

B. Haussoullier, *Inscriptions de Didymes. Comptes de la Construction de Didymeion*. Published for the first time, with notes on the sums and also on the works concerned, a long building account from the end of the third century discovered in 1896. V. Coulon, *De quelques Passages altérés de l'Apologie et des Florides d'Apulée*. Textual suggestions prompted by P. Vallette's edition in the Budé series. Th. Walek, *La Politique romaine en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénistique au III<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. An attempt, provoked by the views of M. Holleaux, to show a consistent policy of aggression on the part of Rome, especially from 229 to 201 B.C. A. Ernout, *Sur une Glose corrompue du Mot Manes*. In *Thes. Gloss. emend. s.v. Manes* read *Manes dii mortuorum haberi quia manus* (i.e. *μᾶνός*) *id est varus*. Id., *Salluste, Histoires IV. 40. Ad menstrua soluenda* does not mean 'to offer monthly sacrifices,' for which there is no authority, but 'pour passer le temps de leurs règles.' The words have been misunderstood by Plutarch in *Crass. 11*; it is more relevant to compare *Lucr. VI. 794-6*. Ch. Dubois, *L'Olivier et l'Huile d'Olive dans l'ancienne Égypte*. A well-documented sketch of the history of the olive in Egypt from its introduction probably under dyn. XIX. down to late Ptolemaic times. Reviews.

## LANGUAGE.

## Glotta. XIV. Band. 1/2 Heft. 1925.

H. Fränkel's *Greek Words* include *ἐξονομακλήδην* (μ 250) = *πατρόθεν*; *ῥαψῳδός* = 'inventor,' 'artistic creator,' first used by the epic poets themselves in self-commendation; and a careful examination of *περ*, not 'very' but 'also,' cf. its frequent interchange with *τε* and *καί*. H. Grimme writes about *Hittite Words in Greek*, the channel for which was perhaps Forrer's recently discovered *Ah-hi-ia-va-a* (*Αχαΐα*) in South-West Asia Minor, a state that was in constant communication with the Hittites, 1350-1320 B.C. The H. borrowed largely from their Semitic neighbours and passed many of their loans, including the alphabet, on to the Greeks, and this accounts for some peculiarities in form, e.g. the absence of aspiration and the final vowel of *ἄλφα*. J. Wackernagel connects *δορυσσός* with *σείω*, reads *χαίροντ' ἀφίκεσσο* Theoc. XV. 149, defends *παυονίζω* Thuc. I. 50 and explains *ὡς ἴδον ὡς ἐμάνην* (Theoc. II. 82) as 'when . . . how.' P. Kretschmer studies *The Suffix -NT*, and tells us that previous attempts to explain it have failed because the student insisted on regarding it as a participial formation. It is used to form diminutives in Slavonic and Italic; *Picentes* 'young *pici*,' *Aventinus* from *aventes*, 'young birds.' This *-nt* is common in Illyrian place-names where it means 'belonging to,' e.g. *Tarentum* 'Tara (river)-town,' *Byzantium* called after its Illyrian founder Byzas. *ἀνδριάς* is a diminutive of *ἀνδρίον* ('statue of a man'), cf. *Παλλάδιον* ('statue of Pallas'). This suffix also occurs in pre-Indo-germanic and Etruscan words, and K. suggests that 'before the later expansion of the Indogermans an Indogermanic or Indogermanoid wave swept over a non-Indogermanic population.' A. Nehring concludes his summary of books and articles published in 1921 with some very sound criticisms. There is a distressingly large number of monographs and well-known periodicals which the compiler has not been able to secure, e.g. *Cl. Qu. X.*; international organization should make such gaps impossible. Much seems to have been recently written about the origin of the word *Germani*, now generally regarded either as the name of a Celtic tribe or as non-Indogermanic with perhaps a Celtic suffix. Among the etymologies we note *limen* = *liqsmen* (cf. *linquere*), 'border-line,' *plebes* = *pledhuīs*, *πληθὺς*.

ACHAEAN,  
Leuctra  
Aeschylus  
Agar (T. I.)  
agrarian  
Albinus,  
Alcimus,  
Alcinous,  
alphabet  
antia, 19,  
Antigone  
Apphian  
Apuleius,  
arch of C  
Archiloch  
archons,  
Aristides  
Aristotle  
Asteris (I  
Austin (I  
To

Basilus  
Baynes  
bius, 9  
Belion (I

Caesar's  
caesura,  
Cary, M  
Cary (M  
Leuctra  
Case, Ja  
61 n.  
Cato, bi  
character  
Bouna  
Chrysos  
'ciris,'  
Clemen  
Cleome  
Clodius  
Copa, th

dicasts  
Dioclet  
Diogen  
Draco,



# INDICES

## I.—GENERAL INDEX.

- ACHAEAN, the alleged A . . . arbitration after  
 Leuctra, 165 f.  
 Aeschylus, *Prometheus Unbound*, 61 ff.  
 Agar (T. L.), on Euripides' *Medea*, 214-218, 14 f.  
 agrarian legislation at Rome, 185 ff.  
 Albinus, 7  
 Alcimus, 9  
 Alcinous, 7  
 alphabet of Vaste, 68 ff.  
*antiae*, 195 f.  
 Antigone and the Bride of Corinth, 147 ff.  
 Apphianus, date of his martyrdom, 98  
 Apuleius, life of Plato, 6 ff.  
 arch of Constantine, its date, 56  
 Archilochus, 212  
 archons, their designation, 217  
 Aristides, 216  
 Aristotle, his *Categories*, 75 ff.  
 Asteris (geog.), 112  
 Austin (R. G.), Ovid *Metamorphoses* vii, 268, 93  
 Terence *Adelphi* 350, 104 ff.  
 Basilus Magnus, order of speeches, 214  
 Baynes (Norman H.), the chronology of Euse-  
 bius, 95 f.  
 Belion (river), 112  
 Caesar's agrarian and colonial legislation, 185 ff.  
 caesura, the, 211  
 Cary, M., on Caesar's laws, 191  
 Cary (M.), the alleged Achaean arbitration after  
 Leuctra, 165 f.  
 Case, Janet, views on *Prometheus Bound* discussed,  
 61 n. 2, 63 n. 1, 64 n. 6  
 Cato, his style in *De re rustica*, 115 f.  
 character of Zeus in Aeschylus' *Prometheus*  
*Bound*, 61 ff.  
 Chrysostom and rhetoric, 110  
 'ciris,' 103 f., 155 ff.  
 Clement of Alexandria, 167 ff.  
 Cleomenes Naucratis, 215  
 Clodius, a note on his policy, 182 ff.  
*Copa*, the, 37 ff.  
 dicasts in the ephetic courts, 112  
 Diocletian, his 'persecution years,' 95 ff.  
 Diogenes Laertius, his life of Plato, 7 ff.  
 Draco, 112  
 Drew (D. L.), the *Copa*, 37 ff.  
 Horace *Odes* I. xii. and the Forum Augus-  
 tum, 159 ff.  
 Edmonds (J. M.), some notes on the Herodas  
 papyrus, 129 ff.  
 Ephorus, 165  
 epistolographi, the, 167 ff.  
 etymologies, 108 ff., 208 ff.  
 Euadne, 149  
 Euripides, the *Cresphontes*, 127  
 date of the *Electra*, 127  
 on *Medea* 214-218, 14 f.  
 the political element in the *Heracleidae*,  
 117 ff.  
 a quotation (?) from, 22 ff.  
 the *Temenus*, 127  
 Eusebius, the chronology of, 94 ff.  
 'evil communications,' 92 f., 164  
*exceptio confirmat regulam*, 57  
 feminine comparative, 60  
 Field (G. C.), Socrates and Plato in post-  
 Aristotelian tradition, 1 ff.  
 corrigendum, 107  
 flosculi Philoxeni, 192 ff.  
 forum Augustum, 159 ff.  
 Galerius, date of the toleration edict, 96  
 genitive, the adnominal, 212  
 Gillespie (C. M.), the Aristotelian categories,  
 75 ff.  
 Gillies (M. M.), purification in Homer, 71 ff.  
 Haimon, 147 ff.  
 Hancock (Elsie), the use of the singular *nos* by  
 Horace, 43 ff.  
 Hardy (E. G.), the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea*  
*Alliena Fabia*, 185 ff.  
 Heliodorus, the manuscripts and editions,  
 177 ff.  
 Hercules in the *Alceste*, 66 f.  
 Hermodorus, 11  
 Herodas, 129 ff.  
 the *Dream*, 114, 138 ff.  
 Herodotus, grounds for his errors, 214  
 hiatus in Terence, 35, 214  
 Hittite words in Greek, 218

- Homer, the catalogue, 114  
and the Bible, 216
- Homeric hymn to Apollo, 57  
hymn to Hermes, 151 ff.
- Horace, his equestrian career, 212  
*Odes* I. xii. and the forum Augustum, 159 ff.
- Horatian ode, its form, 57
- human sacrifice in Greece, 123 ff.
- indefinite first person singular, 211
- initial letters in old manuscripts, 202 ff.
- Italic *-bh* future, 59  
*-f* imperfect, 59
- Jackson (J.), the text of the Epistles of Themistocles, 167 ff.
- Knox (A. D.), 'evil communications,' 164
- Laistner (M. L. W.), flosculi Philoxenei, 192 ff.
- Lawlor (H. J.), the chronology of Eusebius, 94 f.
- Leo, F., his theory of the text of Plautus, 28 ff.  
view of *Georgics* i. 406-9 criticized, 158
- Leuctra, 165 f.
- lex de actis Cn. Pompeii confirmandis, 16 ff.  
*Licinia*, 20  
*Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, 185 ff.  
*Vatinia* (?), 16 ff.
- Libanius, 167 ff.
- Lindsay (W. M.), 'ciris,' 103 f.  
notes on the text of Terence, 28 ff.  
two lost manuscripts of Terence, 101 f.
- Ling (P. H.), 'evil communications,' 22 ff., 164
- Lobon, 114
- Lowe (E. A.), some facts about our oldest Latin manuscripts, 197 ff.
- Lydian language, 211 f.
- m* omitted in manuscripts, 205 f.
- Macaria, 120 ff.
- manuscripts, some facts about our oldest Latin, 197 ff.
- Mars Ultor, Augustus' temple to, 159 ff.
- McKenzie (B.), etymologies, 108 ff., 208 ff.
- Meleager, 115
- Messapic alphabet, 68 ff.
- n* omitted in manuscripts, 205 f.
- Nicias, 111
- Nisus and Scylla, 157
- notes on the text of Terence, 28 ff.
- nt* suffix, 218
- Nutting (H. C.), Cicero, *Cato maior*, II. 4, 106 f.
- Odyssey*, its unity, 57
- olive, the, in Egypt, 218
- Olympiodorus, his view of the Platonic dialogues, 2 ff.
- Oско-Umbrian future-perfect, 59
- 'persecution years' of Diocletian, 95
- Petronius, the *Satyricon*, 212
- Philinnion, 147 ff.
- Philoxenus, 192 ff.
- Pirie (J. W.), *antiae*, 195 f.
- Pisistratus, his administration of justice, 112
- Plato, the eighth epistle, 211
- Platonic commentators, the, 1 f.
- Plautus, origin of the *Cistellaria*, 216  
the *Mercator*, 214
- Pliny, the 1508 Aldine edition, 212 f.
- Plutarch's view of the Platonic writings, 1 f.
- Pocock (L. G.), *lex de actis Cn. Pompeii confirmandis*, 16 ff.  
a note on the policy of Clodius, 182 ff.
- Proclus, his view of the Platonic dialogues, 2 ff.  
purification in Homer, 71 ff.
- quire signatures, 208
- Rattenbury (R. M.), the manuscripts and editions of Heliodorus, 177 ff.
- Richardson (G. W.), the chronology of Eusebius, 96 ff.
- Rigilinus, 114
- Roman buildings of the republic, 56  
census statistics, 112  
policy in Greece, 218
- Rose (H. J.), Antigone and the Bride of Corinth, 147 ff.  
'evil communications,' 92 f.
- running titles in manuscripts, 206 f.
- Saunders (Catherine), the relation of *Aeneid* III. to the rest of the poem, 85 ff.
- Sedigitus, his canon, 113
- size of page in manuscripts, 207
- Socrates and Plato in post-Aristotelian tradition, 1 f.
- Sophocles, the *Oedipus Coloneus*, 216
- sow, the white, 89
- Spranger (J. A.), the political element in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides, 117 ff.
- Stephanus of Byzantium, 217
- Suiones, 211 f.
- SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS:  
Literature and General, 56 f., 111 ff., 211 ff.  
Language, 57 ff., 116, 218
- American Academy at Rome, 56
- American Journal of Philology, 111, 211 f.
- Bodleian Quarterly, 111
- Classical Philology, 111 f., 212 f.
- Glotta, 57 f., 218
- Hermes, 56 f., 213 f.
- Indogermanische Forschungen, 58 ff., 116
- Mnemosyne, 112 f., 214 ff.
- Neue Jahrbücher, 57, 113, 216
- Philological Quarterly (Iowa), 113, 216
- Philologus, 113 f., 217
- Revue de Philologie, 57, 217 f.
- Rheinisches Museum, 115

Summaries  
Société  
Wien  
Wien  
Zeits  
schl

Tacitus, Di

his n

sour

Terence, n

two

Terminalia

Themistoc

Theodasia

Thompson

Thomson

discusse

Todd (O. J.)

Prometh

Trendelen

ACHILLE

iv. (

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Ep

Ion

Charis

33

Charis

ii.

Cicero

A

C

F

in

T

## Summaries of Periodicals—continued:

Société de Linguistique, 60

Wiener Blätter, 115

Wiener Studien, 115 f.

Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, 60

Tacitus, *Dialogus V.*, 214

his methods, 214 f.

sources of the *Annals*, 213

Terence, notes on his text, 28 ff.

two lost manuscripts of, 101 f.

Terminalia, 112

Themistocles, the text of the Epistles, 167 ff.

Theodosia, date of her martyrdom, 98

Thompson (D'Arcy Wentworth), 'ciris,' 155 ff.

Thomson (J. A. K.), views on *Prometheus Bound* discussed, 61 n. 2Todd (O. J.), the character of Zeus in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, 61 ff.

Trendelenburg on the Categories, 80

'undead,' the, 149

Vaste, the alphabet of, 68 ff.

Venetic alphabet, 59

Virgil, the composition of the *Aeneid*, 111

the Appendix, 216

the *Copa*, 37 ff.

influenced by the forum Augustum, 160 ff.

the relation of *Aeneid* III. to the rest of the poem, 85 ff.

Vivarium school, 205

washing in Homer, 71 ff.

Welcker's views on *Prometheus Bound*, 61 n. 2

Wernicke's law, 113

Whatmough (J.), the alphabet of Vaste, 68 ff.

Xenophon, the *Anabasis*, 115Zeus, his character in the *Prometheus Bound*, 61 ff.  
of Pheidias, 216

## II.—INDEX LOCORVM.

ACHILLES TATVS:—

iv. (18), 170

Aeschylus:—

*Septem* (597-600), 23 ff.

Appian:—

*Bell. Civ.* ii. (13), 17 f.*Hannibal* (44), 170

Aristophanes:—

*Frogs* (1324), 213

Aristotle:—

[*Occ.*] ii. 1346b (13-26), 215*Metaph.* 1075b (7), 112*Rhet.* 1354b (32), 1358a (23), 1359b (9-16),

1368a (25), 1395a (3), 211

*Top.* ii. 1. 109a (10), 79 n. 2

Callimachus:—

*Dian.* [iii.] (53), 213; (247), 209*Epigr.* 5 (6), 209*Iou.* [i.] (52), 209

Charisius:—

33 (7), 549 (1), 195 f.

Charito:—

ii. 2 (1), 114

Cicero:—

*Att.* ii. 9 (1), 16 ff.*Cato maior* ii. (4), 106 f.*Fam.* i. 9 (7), 16 ff.*in Vatinius* (29), 16 ff.; (33, 34), 20 f.*Tusc. disp.* i. (74), 112

Dio Cassius:—

38 (7), 17 f.

Euripides:—

*Helena* (1593 sqq.), 168

Eusebius:—

*H.E.* ix. 10 (12), 95

Fronto:—

S. 232, Z (15 sq. Naber), 116

Hecataeus:—

(fr. 105), 213

Heidelberg Papyri:—

*Inu.* (222, 1716), 217

Herodas papyrus:—

*passim*, 129 ff.

Herodotus:—

iv. (160), 214

Homer:—

*Hymn to Hermes* (193 sqq., 199, 200), 151;

(209, 218, 224 sq., 230), 152; (237 sqq.),

153 ff.; (261 sq.), 154; (266 sq.), 154 f.;

(272), 155

*Iliad* xvii. (756, 759), 209 f.; xxiii. (53), 14

Horace:—

*Epistles* i. (13), 212; i. 13 (4), 48; ii. (1),

114

*Odes* ii. 13 (22), 48; iii. (16), 212*Satires* ii. 6 (48), 48

## Inscriptiones Latinae:—

Not. d. Scavi, 1923 (pp. 397-411), 213

## Isidore:—

*Or.* xviii. (67), 213

## Jerome:—

*adu. Iohannem* (30), 192 f.

## Job:—

xix. (24), 192 f.

## Julian:—

(27cd), 170

*Ep.* 59, 217

## Juvenal:—

vi. (167), x. (54), 111

## Libanius:—

*cor. or.* (3), 176 n. 1*Demosth. ap.* (18), 170*Demosth. ded. pet.* (30), 172*de Socratis silentio* (22, 25), 172 n. 1

## Longus:—

*Past.* iii. (12), 172; iv. (18), 170

## Lucian:—

*Prometheus* (3), 213

## Lucilius:—

i. (64), iv. (90), 212

## [Ps.-] Lysias:—

viii. (fin.), 170

## Manilius:—

i. (515 sqq.), 114

## Menander:—

*Heros* v. (3), 114

## Minucius Felix:—

*Octavius* 22 (9), 215

## New Testament:—

*Acts* xvii. (28), 26, 921 *Cor.* xv. (33), 22 ff.*Phil.* iii. (1), 92 f.*Rom.* i. (29, 30), 93*Titus* i. (12), 26, 92

## Ovid:—

*Fasti* iv. (419-618), 217*Metam.* v. (341-661), 217; vii. (268), 93

## Pap. Ox.:—

(762), 214; (865), 111

## Petronius:—

(15, 26, 58), 114

## Plato:—

*Rep.* ii. (364B), 115

## Plautus:—

*Asin.* (372), 214*Bacch.* (213 sqq.), 217

## Pliny:—

*Nat. Hist.* ii. (1 sqq.), 113 ff.

## Plutarch:—

ii. (510 sq.), 209 f.

*brut. or. uti* (987E), 170*Pompey* (48), 20

## Polybius:—

ii. 39 (9), 165

## Propertius:—

i. (2), 41; ii. (33)—iii. (31), 41; ii. (iii.) (34),

41; ii. (34b), 41; iii. (13)=iv. (12), 41 f.;

iv. (1, 2) 41, (8), 42

## Sallust:—

*Hist.* iii. (6), 213

## Sophocles:—

*Phil.* (883), 115*Trach.* (335), 115

## Strabo:—

viii. 7 (1), 165 f.

## Syrianus:—

in *Arist. met.* (1078b), 4

## Tacitus:—

*Agric.* 44 (5), 212

## Terence:—

*Adelphi* (350), 104 ff., (947) 35*Andria* (10) 33, (536) 32, (592) 36, (593) 35,

(653) 33, (720, 825) 32, (861) 30

*Eun.* (44, 51) 33, (57) 30, (95) 29, (132) 32,

(265) 33, (274) 32, (351) 30, (560) 30 f.,

(632) 33, (957) 34

*Haut.* (83, 115) 35, (168, 169) 29, (527) 30,

(672, 716) 36, (827, 829) 30, (996) 31

*Heu.* (106) 32, (206, 468) 33, (606) 35*Phorm.* (249) 35, (562) 32 f., (936, 937) 30,

(1028) 35

## Themistocles:—

*Epistles* i.-viii., 167 ff.

## Theocritus:—

ii. (82), xv. (149), 218

## Theophrastus:—

*H.P.* iii. 11 (2), 208

## Virgil:—

*Aen.* i. (294-6) 161 n. 1, (755, 756) 90; ii. (780-

782) 85; iii. (1-8) 86, (458-460) 90, (500-

505) 86; v. (52) 215, (626-629, 730-737) 90;

vii. (122-127) 89

## Xenophon:—

*Cyrop.* I. iii. (11), 215



## III.—INDEX VERBORVM.

## A.—GREEK.

ἀναγραφή, 217  
ἀναλαβεῖν, 211  
ἀνδράς, 218  
ἄρρωστος, 109  
ἀσπάσιος, 108

δαίμων, 59  
δικεῖν, 58  
δορυσσός, 218

ἔκων, 59  
ἐλληδάων, 153  
ἐρρωμαι, 109  
ἐξίς (transitive sense), 82  
ἐξονομακλήδην, 218  
ἐσθίω, 58  
ἐσθω, 58  
εὖς, 59  
ἐχειν, 83

ἡματος, 58, 59

καθ' αὐτό, 76 n. 4  
καθ' ὅ, 76 n. 4  
κοδύμαλον, 57  
κυδώνια, 57

λάπτειν, 60  
λεῖα, 212

*aeque quicquam*, 34  
*amantissimus*, 58  
*ambedo*, 214  
*antiae*, 195 f.  
*apocalare*, 114  
*auctoritas*, 214  
*Auentinus*, 218

*Byzantium*, 218

*calculi*, 213  
*celtis*, 192 f.  
*colonea*, 57

*dic(e)*, 60  
*disco*, 58  
*duc(e)*, 60

*explere*, 34

*fero*, 212  
*flagratus*, 192

ἄρρος, 59  
-οσύνη, 60  
οἶλη (σποδός), 153  
οἶλος, 208 ff.  
οἰλότης, 208 ff.

περ, 218  
πιτεῦω, 58  
ποδοστράβη, 194 n. 1  
ποδοστρόφον, 194 n. 1  
ποίη, 109 f.  
ποτοστρόφια, 194  
πρεσβύτεροι, 211

ῥαψωδός, 218  
ῥώννυμι, 109

σείω, 210  
σῆ-, 58  
σικύς, 58  
σκήνη, 213

τι-, 58  
τυκτός, 216

ὑκερός, 60

φόρημα, 112

## B.—LATIN.

*genu*, 59  
*Germani*, 218

*hic*, 58  
*hortamenta*, 34  
*humus*, 58

*ii*, 58  
*insinuare*, 211  
*iste*, 58

*larix*, 59  
*libo*, 215  
*limen*, 218

*manes*, 218  
*mitto*, 58

*nos*, 43 ff.  
-nt, 218

*ossua*, 58

## INDEX VERBORVM

*paullisper*, 58  
*pernoctis*, 93  
*Picentes*, 218  
*plebes*, 218

*reposita*, 194  
*reus*, 214

*sanati*, 213

*seuerus*, 58  
*spes*, 108  
*stlattarius*, 194 f.  
*sum* (pronoun), 35

*Tarentum*, 218  
*Thybris*, 85, n. 7  
*Thymbris*, 85, n. 7

## C.—INDO-EUROPEAN.

*arraš*, 59  
*gūōu*, 59  
*išša*, 59  
*man-*, (mṇ-), 116

*orūd-*, 59  
*osiēr*, 59  
*peleku-s*, 59  
*roudho-*, 59

## D.—SANSKRIT.

*brāhman*, 59

*vašmi*, 59

## E.—AVESTIC.

*srifa*, 58

## F.—HITTITE.

*jugam*, 116

*jugasš*, 116

## G.—OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC.

*ovoštъ*, 59

## H.—LITHUANIAN.

*brotaiū*, 116

## I.—KELTIC (?).

*Karawánken*, 59

*Karwéndai*, 59

## K.—ITALIC.

*exō* (Venetic), 60  
*mare* (Romanian), 60  
*meχō* (Venetic), 60

*purāitōm* (Umbr.), 58  
*purāovitu* (Umbr.), 58  
*Rehtia* (*Re-i-tia*, Venetic), 60

## L.—GOTHIC.

*ih*, 60

*mih*, 60

